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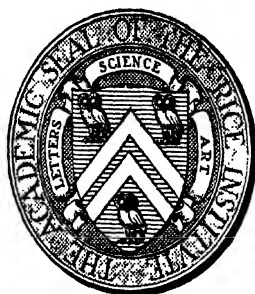
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THE RICE INSTITUTE PAMPHLET

VOLUME FIVE



Published by

THE RICE INSTITUTE

A university of liberal and technical learning
founded by William Marsh Rice in the City of
Houston, Texas, and dedicated by him to
the advancement of Letters, Science, and Art

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THE RICE INSTITUTE PAMPHLET

Vol. V

January, 1918

No. 1



Published by

THE RICE INSTITUTE

A university of liberal and technical learning
founded by William Marsh Rice in the City of
Houston, Texas, and dedicated by him to
the advancement of Letters, Science, and Art



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN an address on the Meaning of the New Institution,¹ prepared for the formal opening of the Rice Institute, among several paragraphs recapitulating some of the new foundation's local sources of strength and support, there appears a plan for university extension lectures which has *since been realized*. *A part of one of these paragraphs may* be quoted here in explanation of the record presented in the following pages.

Another source of unfailing strength to the new university exists ready to hand in the presence of the several hundred college men and women now resident in the city of Houston. While the coming of the new institution and contact with its life will serve to warm their loyalty to their own respective colleges, because of that very interest and devotion they will be quick to interpret sympathetically the aims and ideals of the Rice Institute to the citizens of its community. They will thus become one of the first of its human assets and one of the foremost of its living sources of strength. To renew and freshen the academic interests of these former collegians, to stimulate and sustain the intellectual life of the teachers of the city's schools, to tempt business and professional workers to at least occasional excursions into the academic atmosphere surrounding the university, to keep all the members of the Institute in a lively and appreciative sense of familiarity with fields of learning and investigation other than their own, to bring all the people of the city and community into more intimate touch with the academic life of the university, and to carry the influence of that life directly

¹ See the Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 45-132.

to many homes not represented on the rolls of its undergraduate or postgraduate students, regular series of public lectures, in the form of university extension lectures, will be offered without matriculation fee or other form of admission requirement. These performances are to be authoritative in character, but as non-technical and popular in treatment as their subjects will permit. From domains of literature, science, art, philosophy, and politics, subjects of current interest will be chosen as well as those of assured and permanent value. The present plan for university extension lectures at the Institute consists in giving each academic year two regular series of thirty-six lectures each, the first series¹ running through three divisions of twelve lectures each on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from the middle of November to the middle of February, and the second series running similarly from the middle of February to the middle of May. All these lectures will be delivered in the lecture halls and amphitheaters of the Institute, each afternoon lecture beginning promptly at 4:30 and closing not later than 5:30. In addition to the afternoon lectures occasional Thursday evening lectures will be given.

The plan has met with hearty response on the part of the people of Houston and the press of the state. The Monday, Wednesday, and Friday lectures have appeared in abstracts, of from five hundred to twenty-five hundred words, regularly in the Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday editions of the *Galveston News*, the *Houston Post*, and the *Houston Chronicle*. The attendance on the lectures has ranged from some thirty to more than a thousand auditors at a single lecture. Several of the courses have been deliv-

¹ In the sequel, by way of abbreviation, the lectures of the first series of each academic year will be referred to as Autumn lectures of the calendar year in which the series began, and those of the second series as Spring lectures of the calendar year in which they were delivered.

ered at the City Auditorium, and some of the lectures have been repeated at other points in the state. By the end of the current academic year (1917-18), whose normal programme has been somewhat curtailed by war conditions, an aggregate of sixty-six courses of from three to twelve lectures each, totalling three hundred and twenty-four lectures, will have been given by Messrs. Wilson (30), Whitmore (3), Wendt (3), Weiser (6), Weber (6), Watkin (18), Ward (3), Van Sicklen (3), Tsanoff (27), Tidden (3), Reinke (3), Pound (3), Muller (6), Huxley (6), Humphrey (6), Hughes (6), Hitch (6), Heaps (6), Guérard (42), Graustein (3), Glascock (15), Evans (6), Dumble (3), Diamant (3), Daniell (3), Caldwell (9), Blayney (18), Blanchard (15), Axson (60), Altenburg (3), the numbers in parentheses indicating the total number of lectures delivered by each of these gentlemen, respectively.

THE RICE INSTITUTE

A UNIVERSITY OF LIBERAL AND TECHNICAL LEARNING
FOUNDED IN THE CITY OF HOUSTON, TEXAS, BY THE
LATE WILLIAM MARSH RICE, AND DEDICATED
BY HIM TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF LET-
TERS, SCIENCE, AND ART

THIRD SERIES OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURES

ACADEMIC SESSION 1914-15—FIRST SERIES

ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
QUADRANGLE

MONDAYS, WEDNESDAYS
AND FRIDAYS

IN THE AFTERNOON AT FOUR THIRTY O'CLOCK

NOVEMBER 16, 1914—FEBRUARY 19, 1915

HOUSTON
TEXAS

NOTE.—A second series of courses of twelve lectures each on literature, science, and art will be given on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, beginning February 22, 1915.

The programmes of these courses will appear early in the new year.

All university extension lectures at the Rice Institute are open to the public without matriculation fee or other form of admission requirement. Each lecture begins promptly at 4:30 and closes not later than 5:30. Special cars leave the corner of Fannin Street and Eagle Avenue at 3:55 and 4:15, returning from the second entrance of the Institute campus at 5:45 and 6:00.

MONDAY LECTURES

Problems of the Great War—a course of six lectures by Albert Léon Guérard, Agrégé de l'Université de France, Professor of French.

International Law in the Light of Recent Events—a course of six lectures by Robert Granville Caldwell, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History.

WEDNESDAY LECTURES

Electricity, illustrated by numerous experiments—a course of six lectures by Harold Albert Wilson, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Physics.

The Geology of Texas—a course of three lectures by Edwin Theodore Dumble, B.Sc., Consulting Geologist of the Southern Pacific Company.

Applications of Chemistry to Industry and Commerce—a course of three lectures by Arthur Romaine Hitch, M.A., Ph.D., Instructor in Chemistry.

FRIDAY LECTURES

Chapters in German Literature from Goethe to Hauptmann—a course of six lectures by Clyde Chew Glascock, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of German.

Some Ethical Aspects of Russian Literature—a course of six lectures by Radoslav Andrea Tsanoff, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy.

Monday Lectures

PROBLEMS OF THE GREAT WAR

BY

ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD

- November 16. I. The Franco-German question:
The Aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War
23. II. The Franco-German question:
Alsace-Lorraine from the point
of view of the annexed provinces
30. III. The Anglo-German question:
Commercial and colonial rivalry—"The Great Illusion"
- December 7. IV. The Russo-German question:
Race conflicts—Pangermanism
versus Panslavism
14. V. The Responsibilities: Institutions,
interests, doctrines, passions,
and prejudices that have
prepared the present conflict
- January 4. VI. The Outcome: Probable consequences—
political, economic,
social—of the Great War

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS

BY
ROBERT GRANVILLE CALDWELL

- | | | |
|----------|-----|--|
| January | 11. | I. The modern State system: Its historical background |
| | 18. | II. The doctrine of the equality of States in law and practice |
| | 25. | III. The changing duties and rights of a neutral power |
| February | 1. | IV. Non-combatants, prisoners, and private property |
| | 8. | V. Navigation of the air and sea in time of war |
| | 15. | VI. International law and the preservation of peace |

Wednesday Lectures

ELECTRICITY, ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS EXPERIMENTS

BY
HAROLD ALBERT WILSON

- | | | |
|----------|-----|---|
| November | 18. | I. Fundamental properties of electric charges and currents |
| | 25. | II. Electrical oscillations |
| December | 2. | III. Electric waves and wireless telegraphy |
| | 9. | IV. Kathode rays |
| | 16. | V. Roentgen rays |
| January | 6. | VI. Electrical properties of flames and incandescent solids |

THE GEOLOGY OF TEXAS

BY
EDWIN THEODORE DUMBLE

- January 13. I. The Geology of Texas in the
building of the continent
20. II. The individuality of Texas
geology
27. III. The economic features of the
geology of Texas

APPLICATIONS OF CHEMISTRY TO
INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

BY
ARTHUR ROMAINE HITCH

- February 3. I. Some recent practical applica-
tions of chemistry
10. II. Opportunities for industrial
chemistry in Texas
17. III. Chemical problems in process
of resolution

Friday Lectures

CHAPTERS IN GERMAN LITERATURE
FROM GOETHE TO HAUPTMANN

BY
CLYDE CHEW GLASCOCK

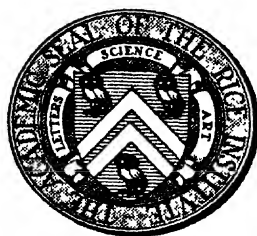
- November 20. I. Weimar and its Circle: Wie-
land, Goethe, Herder, Schiller

- | | | | |
|----------|-----|------|--|
| | 27. | II. | Goethe in Weimar (1775–1785): Recovery from “Storm and Stress” |
| December | 4. | III. | Goethe in Italy (1786–1788): Classicism |
| | 11. | IV. | Romanticism: Heinrich von Kleist |
| | 18. | V. | Poetic Realism: Friedrich Hebbel |
| January | 8. | VI. | Naturalism: Gerhart Hauptmann |

SOME ETHICAL ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE

BY
RADOSLAV ANDREA TSANOFF

- | | | | |
|----------|-----|------|---|
| January | 15. | I. | The Russian soil and Nikolai Gogol |
| | 22. | II. | The art of Ivan Turgenev |
| | 29. | III. | From darkness into light: Dostoyevsky's <i>Crime and Punishment</i> |
| February | 5. | IV. | Count Tolstoy the novelist |
| | 12. | V. | The gospel of Tolstoy the apostle |
| | 19. | VI. | A voice from the depths: Maxim Gorky |



III

COURSES DELIVERED
IN THE ACADEMIC YEARS 1913-14 to 1917-18
INCLUSIVE

EDGAR ALTENBURG, PH.D. (*Columbia*),
Instructor in Biology

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF LIVING BEINGS

ILLUSTRATED BY LANTERN SLIDES

FRIDAYS, SPRING 1918

- I What test tube and microscope disclose
- II The biological bond between parent and offspring
- III The living "machine" in operation

STOCKTON AXSON, PH.D. (*Pittsburgh*),
L.H.D. (*Wesleyan*), Professor of English Literature

SOME ASPECTS OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN
LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY¹

MONDAYS, SPRING 1914

- I Victorian literature
- II Carlyle and political leadership
- III Ruskin's ideas of art
- IV Tennyson the representative poet of Victorian
England
- V Browning's optimism
- VI Rossetti and Pre-Raphaelitism
- VII Matthew Arnold and the literature of culture

¹ The lectures on Hawthorne, Poe, and Stevenson of this course appear in the Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1916.

- VIII The spirit and the art of Robert Louis Stevenson
- IX American literature
- X Emerson the individualist
- XI Hawthorne the Puritan artist
- XII The life and art of Edgar Allan Poe

STUDIES IN SHAKESPEARE

MONDAYS, SPRING 1915

- I The man Shakespeare
- II Shakespeare and the English stage
- III Shakespeare's conception of tragedy
- IV Personal responsibility in Shakespeare's tragedy
- V Fate in Shakespeare's tragedy
- VI Shakespeare's idealism

BRITISH POETS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

MONDAYS, SPRING 1915

- I Wordsworth and the "Lyrical Ballads"
- II Wordsworth and Nature
- III Coleridge the romanticist
- IV Byron and revolutionary defiance
- V Shelley the revolutionary idealist
- VI Keats and the principle of beauty

STUDIES IN MODERN DRAMA

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1915

- I English drama from Shakespeare to Shaw
- II The preliminary awakening
- III Ibsen's point of departure
- IV Social significance of the new drama
- V The art of the new drama
- VI Continental drama

STUDIES IN MODERN DRAMA

MONDAYS, SPRING 1916

- I Bernard Shaw
- II John Galsworthy
- III British and American dramatists
- IV The romancers and idealists
- V The Irish playwrights
- VI The drama in England and America to-day and to come

POETRY AND SOME POETS

MONDAYS, SPRING 1916

- I The nature and uses of poetry
- II Browning
- III Walt Whitman
- IV Omar Khayyam
- V Kipling
- VI Some moderns

LITERATURE IN AMERICA

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1916

- I The American material for literature
- II The first American author, John Smith
- III Early New England and its historians
- IV Old Jamestown and its people
- V Early New England and its people
- VI Early colonial prose literature

STUDIES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE
AND BIOGRAPHY

MONDAYS, SPRING 1917

- I Early colonial poetry
- II Underlying philosophy of the American Revolution
- III Benjamin Franklin and the Revolution
- IV The human side of the Revolutionary War
 - v Thomas Paine and the Revolution
- VI Literature as a fine art in America—Washington Irving
- VII The New England renaissance
- VIII Poetry and romance in the South
- IX In the soil of the Middle West
 - x Humors and adventures of the Pacific Coast
- XI Informal discussion of books advised for reading
- XII Literature and democracy

THOMAS FREDERIC BLANCHARD, M.A. (*Yale*),

Assistant Professor of English

THE ART OF WRITING STORIES

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1915

- I Kipling as romance writer
Reading: *The Man who would be King*
- II Bret Harte and local color
Reading: *Tennessee's Partner*
- III Turgenev as portrait painter
Reading: *A Lear of the Steppes*
- IV Björnson and northern realism
Reading: *The Father*

- v Stevenson, psychologist
Reading: *Markheim*
- vi Browning and the short story
Reading: *Porphyria's Lover*

TYPES OF FICTION

WEDNESDAYS, AUTUMN 1916

- I Dickens and his predecessors
- II Thackeray's handling of the comic-epic
- III The Gothic element in Hawthorne

TYPES OF FICTION

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1917

- I Changing types of the English novel
- II "Robinson Crusoe" and its author
- III The novel of sentiment
- IV The father of English fiction
 - v Meredith's "Comic Spirit"
- VI An American epic novelist

THOMAS LINDSEY BLAYNEY, PH.D. (*Heidelberg*),
Professor of German

GREAT EPOCHS OF GERMAN IDEALISM

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1913

- I General aspects of German civilization
- II The Germanic epic as reflection of elemental forces
- III German ideals in the age of chivalry
- IV Social backgrounds of the period of the Hansa
 - v Individualism in the art and literature of the sixteenth century
- VI Rationalism—the rise of modern Prussia
- VII Lessing and constructive idealism

18 *University Extension Lectures*

- VIII Herder and the beginnings of modern collectivism
- IX Goethe as representative of the cultural forces of the eighteenth century
- x Schiller and German classic idealism
- XI Richard Wagner and the consolidation of German unity
- XII Modern Germany and practical idealism

THE ORIENT OF TO-DAY—ITS PROBLEMS, PEOPLES AND IDEALS

WEDNESDAYS, AUTUMN 1916

- I America and the far East
- II India in the twentieth century
- III An introduction to the art of the East (illustrated)
- IV China in transformation
- v New and old Japan
- VI The West and the East

ROBERT GRANVILLE CALDWELL, PH.D. (*Princeton*),
Assistant Professor of History

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1914

- I *The modern State system: Its historical background*
- II The doctrine of the equality of States in law and practice
- III The changing duties and rights of a neutral power
- IV Non-combatants, prisoners, and private property
- v Navigation of the air and sea in time of war
- VI International law and the preservation of peace

THE PEACE CONGRESSES OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY¹

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1917

- I The Congress of Vienna
- II The Congress of Paris
- III The Congress of Berlin

PERCY JOHN DANIELL, M.A. (*Cambridge*),
Assistant Professor of Applied Mathematics

AVIATION, PAST AND PRESENT

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS

WEDNESDAYS, SPRING 1916

- I The airship
- II The model *aéroplane*
- III Stability, motive power and success

NICHOLAS S. DIAMANT, M.Sc. (*Union*),
Instructor in Engineering

SOME ENGINEERING APPLICATIONS OF
ELECTRICITY

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS AND LANTERN SLIDES

WEDNESDAYS, SPRING 1916

- I Electric lighting and the art of illumination
- II Communication and transportation—telephony and electric railways
- III Electrical engineering—its influence upon modern civilization

¹ These lectures will be published in the Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. V, No. 2, April, 1918.

University Extension Lectures

EDWIN THEODORE DUMBLE, B.Sc. (*Washington and Lee*),
Consulting Geologist of the Southern Pacific Company

THE GEOLOGY OF TEXAS¹

WEDNESDAYS, AUTUMN 1914

- I *The geology of Texas in the building of the continent*
- II *The individuality of Texas geology*
- III *The economic features of the geology of Texas*

GRIFFITH CONRAD EVANS, PH.D. (*Harvard*),
Professor of Pure Mathematics

SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS OF PHILOSOPHY

WEDNESDAYS, SPRING 1915

- I Pragmatism
- II Æsthetics
- III Rationalism

LECTURES ON ELEMENTARY GEOMETRY

FRIDAYS, SPRING 1917

- I Some provable propositions
- II Principles of structure
- III Similar structure in general science

CLYDE CHEW GLASCOCK, PH.D. (*Johns Hopkins*),
Assistant Professor of Modern Languages

CHAPTERS IN GERMAN LITERATURE FROM
GOETHE TO HAUPTMANN

FRIDAYS, AUTUMN 1914

- I Weimar and its circle: Wieland, Goethe, Herder,
Schiller

¹ This course was published in the Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. III, No. 2, April, 1916.

Academic Years 1913-14 to 1917-18 21

- II Goethe in Weimar (1775-1785): recovery from
"Storm and Stress"
- III Goethe in Italy (1786-1788): classicism
- IV Romanticism: Heinrich von Kleist
- V Poetic realism: Friedrich Hebbel
- VI Naturalism: Gerhart Hauptmann

TRADITIONAL FOLK TALES

FRIDAYS, AUTUMN 1915

- I The investigation of fairy tales
- II The sources of fairy tales: dreams and visions
- III The sources of fairy tales: primitive ideas, customs,
religion
- IV Folk tales among ancient civilized races
- V The tales of India and Arabia and their diffusion
- VI German fairy tales

THE GOLDEN AGE OF SPANISH LITERATURE

WEDNESDAYS, SPRING 1917

- I Cervantes and his work: Don Quixote
- II Lope de Vega and the Spanish drama
- III Calderón and his dramatic school

WILLIAM CASPAR GRAUSTEIN, PH.D. (*Bonn*),

Assistant Professor of Mathematics

THE FORM OF SPACE IN WHICH WE LIVE. IS IT THAT OF ORDINARY GEOMETRY?

WEDNESDAYS, SPRING 1916

- I The question
- II Geometry, ordinary and otherwise
- III The answer

ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD, *Agrégé de l'Université de France*,
Professor of French

FRANCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

FIRST SERIES: MAIN ASPECTS OF FRENCH CIVILIZATION IN
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

FRIDAYS, AUTUMN 1913

- I The study of foreign literatures and civilizations
- II The foundations—*a* The country
- III The foundations—*b* Ethnic elements
- IV The foundations—*c* Races and racial psychology
- V The traditions—ancient régime and revolution
- VI French education in the nineteenth century
- VII The social question before 1870
- VIII The social question after 1870
- IX The religious question before 1870
- X The religious question after 1870
- XI Paris in the nineteenth century
- XII Greater France

FRANCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

SECOND SERIES: HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE MAIN PERIODS OF
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

FRIDAYS, SPRING 1914

- I Napoleon: administration and army
- II Social conditions under the first empire
- III Culture under the first empire
- IV Constitutional monarchy: political evolution
- V Social conditions under the constitutional monarchy
- VI Culture under the constitutional monarchy
- VII Second republic and second empire
- VIII Society under Napoleon III
- IX Culture under Napoleon

Academic Years 1913-14 to 1917-18 23

- x The third republic
- xi Society under the third republic
- xii Culture under the third republic

PROBLEMS OF THE GREAT WAR

MONDAYS, AUTUMN 1914

- I The Franco-German question: the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War
- II The Franco-German question: Alsace-Lorraine from the point of view of the annexed provinces
- III The Anglo-German question: commercial and colonial rivalry—"The Great Illusion"
- IV The Russo-German question: race conflicts—Pangermanism versus Panslavism
- v The responsibilities: institutions, interests, doctrines, passions, and prejudices that have prepared the present conflict
- VI The outcome: probable consequences—political, economic, social—of the Great War

VICTOR HUGO, SA VIE, SON ŒUVRE,
• SON INFLUENCE

FRIDAYS, SPRING 1915

- I Avant l'exil
- II Pendant l'exil
- III Après l'exil

CONTEMPORARY FRENCH NOVELISTS¹

FRIDAYS, AUTUMN 1915

- I The historical background: French society from 1880 to 1915

¹ These lectures have been published in book form under the title "Five Masters of French Romance," pp. xii + 326. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1916.

- II *Anatole France: before the Dreyfus case*
- III *Anatole France: after the Dreyfus case*
- IV *Pierre Loti*
- V *Paul Bourget and Maurice Barrès*
- VI *Romain Rolland*

HONORE DE BALZAC ET LA COMEDIE HUMAINE

WEDNESDAYS, AUTUMN 1916

- I Formation de son génie—milieu et moment
- II Le romantisme et le réalisme de Balzac
- III L'influence artistique et sociale de l'œuvre de Balzac

CLAUDE WILLIAM HEAPS, PH.D. (*Princeton*),

Instructor in Physics

THE ULTIMATE NATURE OF MATTER
AND ELECTRICITY

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS

FRIDAYS, SPRING 1917:

- I Invisible motions of matter. The kinetic theory
- II The atom of electricity. The electron theory
- III How matter and electricity have been explained.
Theories of ether

ELECTRICAL OSCILLATIONS

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS

FRIDAYS, SPRING 1918

- I Lightning and lightning guards
- II Types of electrical oscillations
- III High frequency phenomena

Academic Years 1913-14 to 1917-18 25

ARTHUR ROMAINÉ HITCH, PH.D. (*Cornell*),
Instructor in Chemistry

APPLICATIONS OF CHEMISTRY TO INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS

WEDNESDAYS, AUTUMN 1914

- I Some recent practical applications of chemistry
- II Opportunities for industrial chemistry in Texas
- III Chemical problems in process of resolution

ATMOSPHERIC NITROGEN AND ITS UTILIZATION

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS AND LANTERN SLIDES

FRIDAYS, AUTUMN 1916

- I The air-nitrate industry
- II Synthetic production of ammonia
- III Industrial uses of fixed nitrogen

ARTHUR LLEWELYN HUGHES, D.Sc. (*Liverpool*),
Assistant Professor of Physics

LIGHT AND VISION

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS

WEDNESDAYS, SPRING 1915

- I The nature of light—its physical and visual aspects
- II The formation of colors—principles underlying color photography
- III Peculiarities of vision—optical illusions—color blindness

MATTER IN MOTION

ILLUSTRATED BY EXPERIMENTS

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THE RICE INSTITUTE PAMPHLET

Vol. V

April, 1918

No. 2



Published by

THE RICE INSTITUTE

A university of liberal and technical learning
founded by William Marsh Rice in the City of
Houston, Texas, and dedicated by him to
the advancement of Letters, Science, and Art



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THE PEACE CONGRESSES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

FOREWORD

AT the outset, I would state frankly the point of view from which these lectures were originally written and which recent events have tended to emphasize rather than to change. I believe with all my heart that a congress to make peace at this time, while a single invading soldier stands victorious on the soil of France or Belgium, would be an irreparable calamity in the history of the world. America has weighed the evidence and is convinced that this war was started, deliberately and without pity, for ends of selfish national aggrandisement. She is convinced that the means for prosecuting the war have been chosen and used in the same spirit. The *Lusitania*, Belgium, and the smoking ruins of northern France have become to us the blazing symbols of great wrongs which must be righted. Billions of gold, the blood of brave men, will not have been spent in vain if these ends can be achieved. And a right peace seems far enough away to-day. America has highly resolved and does not regret her resolution. She has counted the cost and is willing to make the sacrifices. But it is no treason to our high purposes to say that she will always fight with her constant thought on the day of peace and of good will which is to come. It is the fact that these are the supreme preoccupations of mankind, which may give a certain timeliness to lectures in which we shall turn back to three great peace congresses of other days, not so much to tell again the story of their incidents,

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as to study the principles which determined their results and the quality of their statesmanship in the light of our present situation and of our future hopes.

Any bibliography of this subject would be evidently out of place in this connection, but the author would mention the recent essays by Charles Downer Hazen, William Roscoe Thayer, Robert Howard Lord, and Archibald Cary Coolidge, which were published when these lectures were almost completed, but in time to prove of very considerable assistance. Among the newer books, Kornilov's "Modern Russian History" and Seymour's "Diplomatic Background of the War" are worthy of special attention.

I THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

A NOVELIST of his day said of Lamartine that he had raised History to the level of Fiction. The fear of earning similar praise has made many another historian tell a simple story of events which sometimes seem unrelated to all that came before or after. But in stern times like these it is more than ever evident, as Morley has so finely said, that "We are all of us a good many hundreds of thousands of years old two minutes after we find our way into the mid-wife's arms," and also this from the same wise man, that "Progress is a working belief that the modern world will never consent to do without." The historian may safely write in the light of this belief, if he only keep in mind what Oliver Cromwell said to the Presbyterian elders, "My brethren, in the name of Christ, I beseech you to think it possible that you may be mistaken!"

To judge the work of statesmen by future events to them unknown or only dimly guessed seems scarcely fair; and yet it is the only test which can ever be applied. All statesmanship must ever have something of the prophetic quality. The judgment of posterity is the truest measure of a man's greatness. Did he read aright the principles of progress and of life? Did he guide his own generation in such a way as to prepare the way for other generations to live in better times? Or did he only solve the immediate problem and leave his real task to be performed by some wiser man? These are the questions which we must ask of the men of other ages;

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and especially in these days, when surely another peace conference will be meeting, these are the questions which we must ask of Metternich, of Talleyrand, of Napoleon, and of Disraeli.

History is the study of some period in the life of men in the light of some future. Every day throws all the past into new perspective and demands a new emphasis and a new explanation. Incidents and men which seemed insignificant yesterday, to-day are chosen as the important realities of their times. It is for this reason that even if no new documents are brought to light and no new episodes are discovered, there must ever be a new history in every age. The supreme function of the historian as distinguished from the mere annalist is always selective. He does not necessarily take his stand on the present or the imagined future and select his past to explain that present or future, but he must inevitably take that stand on some position beyond the one he is describing. Otherwise there is no possibility of feeling the sweep of events or of choosing any scheme to reduce their multiplicity to order. And the surest and most interesting standpoint for the study of any period, however remote, is usually either the present or some period not too distant which is still living in imagination with all the rich connotations of reality.

No one can hope that historical work will really be final any more than one can hope that work in any living science will be final. To-morrow and day after to-morrow our history will inevitably be different, not only in the extent of its content but also in its fundamental and scarcely defined point of selection. Even the scientific German historians were absolutely unable to tell the story of the Roman Empire or of the Papacy without showing in every line what it was which had significance for their own age. Complete detach-

ment would be not a virtue but a calamity, for at the best even truth is necessarily relative.

It is this never ending and seemingly hopeless quest which makes history neither the past life of man itself, for that is too vast and beyond discovery, nor the documents and books which are stored up in musty libraries, important and forgotten, but a living study of a past which shall illumine and give hope and significance to some present, either lingering in our memories of yesterday or yet only dimly realized and expected. In his forward look the historian is like the statesman, and History stands like Statesmanship with the ruddy glow of the dawn of future ages shining on her upturned face.

In such a spirit, when the next great peace congress shall meet, to-morrow or day after to-morrow, whether it shall go down into history as the Congress of Amsterdam, or Madrid, or Antwerp is comparatively insignificant. What will really matter is whether it has within it enough of genius and good will to make its work a landmark in the progress of the human spirit. How will it differ in the men who compose it, in the methods which they pursue, in the principles which guide them, and in the ends which they achieve from those five or six great congresses of other ages?

Before the time of the Thirty Years' War there were no international congresses for the very good reason that nations and states in the modern sense of these terms were just crystallizing out of the welter of the Middle Ages. We are so familiar with the idea of a state living its more or less sovereign life among its fellows that it is easy to forget what a really new thing is a world composed of separate states living together in a family, with their rivalries and quarrels, and with the necessity of building up a new code of morals, or of law, corresponding to the older, ever changing means

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of social control of individuals which have been building from the earliest days of human society. The ancient world knew either tribes which were regularly at war with all alien tribes and which were not limited by any such modern inventions as definite territorial limits or frontiers, or else it knew great empires which united all these racial groups by military prowess and by the fiction of common heritage. The intense rivalry of wandering tribes reappeared in the Middle Ages, and seemed to swallow all there was of civilization in the devouring flood of their invasions. The old idea of unity still lived on in theory in the Holy Roman Empire, whose essential qualities were best described in the famous sarcasm of Voltaire. But order reappeared only when tribes had succumbed to those warlike rulers, the nobles, and these in turn had been united by the prowess and the paid armies of the kings, the real founders of that very modern human institution which we call the State. A state, in the sense of a group of people living together within a definite territory, having an orderly civilization, and bound together by the invisible bond of a common allegiance and a common loyalty, certainly did not exist on the face of the earth much before the beginning of the seventeenth century. There were, of course, groups of people who already had many of the marks of the state, but in a general sense it is safe to say that men knew kings, and churches, and families, and tribes, and empires long before they knew states; and even in the sixteenth century no amount of explanation could really have made a man understand what we now mean by patriotism, nor why the Englishman stands with uncovered head at the strains of his national anthem, nor what the Stars and Stripes means to an American. For these are ideas which belong to the realm of deep feeling rather than of pure reason, and are not to be reduced to the cold limits of a syllogism.

The Congress of Westphalia, which closed in 1648, was the first great international congress of any kind. For this reason alone it is certainly one of the supremely significant events in the history of the world. Although some of its problems now seem remote, yet it is to be remembered as the mark of a new era, and, if for nothing else, as the point at which the influence of that great jurist, Hugo Grotius, began to teach men new ideas of international right and wrong at the very dawn of the society of nations. In the following century another congress sat at Utrecht, settling affairs of great moment to the powers involved, and furnishing another early precedent for the international congresses which were to be so important a feature of European history in the age of Metternich. These earlier congresses were genuinely international, but, in their composition and their etiquette, they sometimes seemed assemblies of princes and kings rather than gatherings of sovereign and independent nations. Their problems, too, have something of the mediæval flavor. It is only when we get to the Congress of Vienna that we meet our distinctively modern problems and find as if in solution those ideas which are the centre of the immense conflict of to-day.

The world had gone a long distance forward in the hundred years which lay between Utrecht and Vienna. At Utrecht the slave trade was still regarded merely as a valuable commercial privilege which bore no relation at all to morals or to law. England sought and gained for herself the monopoly of the trade between Africa and the Spanish empire in America. At Vienna, the English representatives, under the influence of Wilberforce, took the lead in securing the passage of a resolution in which all the states promised to do their best to secure the abolition of the iniquitous business. The promise was none too definite, since no special

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date was mentioned at which it was to be fulfilled; but in spite of this defect it was clearly a step in advance. Just as the humanitarian ideas of which Bentham was the prophet were behind this provision, so the influence of Adam Smith and the classical economists appeared in the measure, also adopted unanimously, that international rivers should be open to the commerce of all. This idea applied especially to the Rhine, and has since been greatly expanded in special treaties. It is under this principle that American vessels have free passage through the waters of the St. Lawrence, and that most of the other great rivers of the world are open to the commerce of the nations. The opening of the Scheldt, by which Antwerp gained access to the sea, had been bitterly opposed by England for fear that the Belgian city might come to be a rival to her own great port of London. This had been one of the reasons which had led her to declare war against the French Republic in 1793. But now all were willing to have this very important river, which rises in Belgium and reaches the sea in Holland, made one of the great doors which lead into northern Europe. As a result, at the opening of the present war Antwerp had become the third port in the world. The nations which are to-day fighting for the redemption of Antwerp are in reality fighting for a principle which was definitely established at the Congress of Vienna. In opening the rivers the congress was really saying that above the special interests and desires of each individual state there are rights which belong to all. It was the first small plank in a common law for the nations which was to serve as a limitation on the idea of absolute and unlimited sovereignty. And it takes no great prophet to foresee that the time will come, however slowly, when states will recognize that complete sovereignty is as impossible in

a world of other states as complete liberty is to the individual in a society of other individuals.

The occasion for the Congress of Vienna was as dramatic as it well could be. Only two years before it opened, Napoleon had entered Russia on the expedition which was to light the flame of national patriotism among the blazing ruins of Moscow. What kings had been unable to accomplish, the aroused people of Europe *did* at the Battle of the Nations, which set the seal of defeat on the grand army of the Empire and drove its once invincible hosts in flight back across the Rhine, on that perhaps most memorable of all October days, just a year before our diplomats arrived at Vienna. The military genius of the great soldier was never quite so supremely great as it was in the marvellous campaign in which he sought to stave off the inevitable and to save his capital and his throne. Fighting against vastly superior numbers, he balked and then defeated them, causing them to fall back by the rapier-like thrust of his little army against their line of communications, until finally the supreme gambler had played his last card and his enemies had bivouacked in triumph in the streets of Paris. Even then, in utter disregard of human life, he would have thrown his brave men on the entrenchments of his own late capital if it had not been for the defection of Marshal Marmont. "I am still the man of Wagram and of Austerlitz!" he exclaimed when he heard that Paris had fallen; and even with his abdication signed he sprang from his seat and said to his assembled marshals, who had certainly served him well on many a hard-fought field: "Gentlemen, let us tear it up. We can beat them yet." But they were disillusioned, discouraged, and inexorable, and so the man of Wagram became for the moment the man of Elba.

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When Paris was about to fall, Napoleon had ordered all his official family to leave the city and to join him outside. Among them was Talleyrand, who had been the grand chamberlain of the empire ever since it was created in 1804. Talleyrand was one of those adroit men to whom accidents always happen opportunely. During the trial of Louis XVI the famous chest was discovered back of the wainscoting where the royal carpenter had placed it with all its incriminating documents. Among the contents were papers which our good bishop of Autun might have found most difficult to explain to the satisfaction of even so mild a man as Roland. For Talleyrand was not only a bishop, having been kept from the army in his youth by a hereditary lameness, but he was also the chief author of the famous civil constitution of the clergy, which placed the priests under the control of the state. At the very moment when he was carefully buttering his bread on one side by this very radical measure, he was also in communication with the royal family, trying to help Mirabeau to preserve the monarchy in some more satisfactory and constitutional guise. Letters to royal personages, however innocent they might have seemed when written, were evidently not good forms of life insurance in the year of the September massacres, when France was surrounded by her enemies and when great Danton was arousing her to action with his "L'audace, encore l'audace, toujours l'audace, et la France est sauvée!" Fortunately for him, when these embarrassing letters fell into the hands of Roland, Talleyrand was also helping to save France on an unofficial diplomatic mission at London. If Louis had not been guillotined, as he so richly deserved to be, Talleyrand *might* have persuaded Pitt to keep England out of the war and so changed greatly the course of human history. It is probable that even then the Scheldt might have rankled in her generous

soul even more than the death of the stupid king. However that might have been, Talleyrand failed in his first important diplomatic venture not because he was not a great diplomat, but because the stars in their courses had fought against him, as they have frequently done against other lesser diplomats before and since.

Needless to say, our bland bishop with the club-foot did not return to Paris. Instead he travelled for his health in America, living in Philadelphia, seeing everything which might be learned superficially, and failing wholly to understand the spirit of the young Republic, as he showed soon after his return to France. There times had greatly changed. Danton and Robespierre were dead. The cannon of Vendémiaire had awakened France from her dreams. Talleyrand became the minister of foreign affairs in the Directory. It was in this connection that he appears in American history as the central figure of the incident of the "X Y Z" despatches. His utter contempt for the American representatives, who came to secure some redress for the injuries which their neutral commerce was suffering at the hands of France, his attempts to turn their plea to his own financial account through blackmail, the ringing words of President Adams, and the naval war which followed are the subjects of another story.

Talleyrand's picture has been drawn in two chapters of Carlyle's great epic. He first appears in "The Procession" as one of the members of the National Assembly, and again his very soul is placed before us in the passage in which the Scotch historian describes the strange Festival of the Confederation, that assembly in which was celebrated the fall of the Bastille. Talleyrand ascended the elevated altar in the midst of the pouring rain, in full canonicals, his mitre on his head, and around his waist the tricolored sash of the nation.

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It was on this occasion that he is said to have turned to one of his companions, just as the solemn religious festival was about to begin, and whispered: "Don't make me laugh!"

Napoleon himself has left on record a short and pithy character sketch of his minister. On their last interview in 1814 he said: "You are a coward, a liar, a thief. You do not believe even in God. You would sell your own father." But then Napoleon may have been prejudiced, though he certainly had every reason to recognize a master liar when he saw one, belonging himself to the very first rank of the great liars of history. Talleyrand, like Fouché, had been a man of too keen intellectual powers to serve even a master like Napoleon blindly. He used his important position to secure for himself a great fortune extracted from the unlucky princes along the Rhine who lost their estates to make room for the simpler administrative arrangements which Napoleon determined to introduce. But he recognized far sooner than his master the strength of the dawning spirit of nationality. He advised Napoleon against his Spanish adventure, and later, at the time of the expedition into Russia, said, "This is the beginning of the end!" Napoleon resented his advice, and in a spirit of sardonic humor made his disgraced minister the unwilling host of the Spanish princes kidnapped at Bayonne. Talleyrand was compelled to entertain them in his country palace, and he well knew that his own safety depended on the care with which he guarded Charles and Ferdinand. His master added insult to injury by commanding the former bishop to marry the lady with whom scandal had connected his name. Evidently the two men had only small reason to love each other. But with all the servant's avarice and hypocrisy, this much we can say for him which we could not say for the greater man. He always loved France well, and when the moment came

he served her with the full measure of devotion. And never more so than in those busy months at Vienna, when he, the master intriguer of his age, always excepting his rival Fouché, for the lily may not be painted, rose to heights of statesmanship which have placed all future ages in his debt, and which set France, doubly defeated and discredited as she was, high at the council table of the nations. So complex are the strands which enter into human character, that we might picture Talleyrand either as a contemptible villain or as the hero of a great historic drama, in either case with almost equal truth. To Carlyle a man must be either a hero or a fool. Fortunately, in history as in life, the hero and the fool often live together in the same man, all logic to the contrary notwithstanding.

Napoleon never liked or trusted Talleyrand, and yet he could not get along without him. He used him as foreign minister under the Consulate, then made him grand chancellor of the empire at a salary of half a million francs, and later placed him in the Principality of Benevento, a dangerous honor of which Talleyrand managed to get rid just before he was to take still a new rôle in the drama of the times.

And so it happened that when all the other ministers of Napoleon left Paris, adroit unlucky Talleyrand reached the barrier just too late and was turned back. So, too, when the allies entered Paris in triumph, there was our good friend Talleyrand, the one important man in the capital, ready to be the host of Alexander, whom he had met before, and, above all, ready to give wise advice as to the new order of things both in France and in Europe. And he had to deal with two men quite as remarkable in their own way as himself. There was Metternich, the man of principle, minister in chief to an old woman called Francis of Austria. And there, too, was Alexander, Czar of all the Russias, the man

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of visions and of dreams. A new Joseph was required who could state the principle and interpret the visions, and yet make all serve France. And Talleyrand, who had been pondering these things in his heart for six long years while he served as an unwilling jailer, was not unequal to the task. The principle was the idea of legitimacy and the dream was a dream of peace and of eternal good will.

Next to Talleyrand, the most interesting figure at the congress was the emperor Alexander I, who had been the Czar of Russia since 1801. Napoleon, who was a keen judge of men, said of Alexander: "With so many intellectual advantages and dazzling qualities, . . . there is always something lacking in him, . . . and that which is lacking changes perpetually." He was a man of very great personal charm, and considerable personal vanity. He seized upon ideas as with a sudden inspiration, and with the greatest eagerness. He passed from one idea which he regarded as a fundamental truth to its exact opposite by intermediate steps of which he was not conscious. Alexander loved truly the two ideas of liberty and order. Could they be reconciled? Metternich was sure that they could not, and never wavered in his preference for an order based on historic institutions and historic obligations. Alexander thought that liberty might be made to fall like the gentle showers from kingly heavens upon the waiting people. He found instead that it welled up in a mighty torrent, creative and destructive at the same time. It would not obey the voice of single men, however divinely sent to control its floods. And so the liberal mood passed into one of reactionary gloom.

Alexander had been brought up at the court of his grandmother, the notorious and brilliant Catharine II. Between his grandmother and his father, Paul, there existed the most violent antipathy. Paul was a whimsical lunatic, like his son

Constantine after him, and Catharine, who, in spite of her notorious immorality, had much of the far-sighted statesmanship of the wide-eyed Elizabeth, was determined that he should never succeed her as the ruler of Russia. She loved Alexander with all that was best in her strong nature, and intended him to be her heir. But the boy had in him a certain filial loyalty which would not let him supplant his father. There is something pitiful in the way in which the old woman, hard and self-sufficient as she was to all the rest of the world, tried in vain to gain her grandson's respect and affection. But he always resented his enforced separation from his father and mother, and must have come early to understand something of the air of intrigue and wickedness which surrounded his imperial grandmother's throne. He therefore gave his boyish loyalty and full devotion to his tutor, the Swiss La Harpe. La Harpe was an idealist and a political liberal, and he gained an influence over his young pupil's mind which Alexander was never able to shake off. Even after La Harpe was deemed too radical and dismissed, the man and the boy kept up an intimate correspondence; and to this day the letters of Alexander to La Harpe are among the most interesting of unconscious self-revelations. From his tutor the boy learned simple tastes and a certain genuine purity and nobility of character. He became a liberal in feeling, and in later years his life was a constant conflict between what he thought were his convictions and the necessities which were pressed upon him by his family and position.

When Alexander was eighteen years of age, Catharine died, full of dread for the years ahead and certain of her own high place in the history of Russia. The five years of Paul's mad reign were a terrible experience to his son no less than to Russia. Catharine had been sensual and ruthless,

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but she was also strong, far-seeing, statesmanlike. Paul was a madman with imperial power. One can guess something of the contents of those five years when we know that until recently all mention of his acts and of his tragic death has been under the ban of the most absolute censorship in Russia. If one finds disorder in the Russia of to-day, it does not necessarily prove that there is too much democracy now, but rather perhaps that in other days there has been too little. And every day of anarchy among a people breaking their bonds and struggling into light can be matched by years of tyranny and sore oppression under kings whose title went straight back to God himself. We cannot judge aright these bitter days unless we remember also the burden and the woe of those long and very bitter years. And one may hope still that out of the ashes and the bloodshed of this wicked war there may yet arise a Russia with a new glory blazing in her kindled soul.

Paul was determined that his son should not gain any popularity at his expense, and with mad cunning he made the boy, who was only twenty, chief of police in St. Petersburg. In this capacity Alexander was compelled to sign orders of banishment and death for people whom he knew to be innocent, "that all may see that you and I breathe with the same spirit," as Paul said to his son. Paul reduced the required service of the peasants to three days a week, and when they refused to be grateful and insisted on revolting, he had them executed and buried outside the cemetery walls with an epitaph over their graves: "Here lie criminals before the Lord, the Czar, and the landowners, justly punished according to God's law." Citizens were punished for wearing round hats and top-boots which came from France. Thousands were executed for failing to kneel when the imperial carriage passed. In his last escapade Paul fell

under the sinister influence of Napoleon and sent an expedition of forty thousand Cossacks across the plains and mountains to wrest India from the British. Each Cossack had two horses but no forage or provisions. In obedience to their Little Father, they went out into the barren steppes to die, forerunners of those other Russian armies of later days, which by the insane stupidity or treachery of their superiors were to die without food in the Crimea, or without ammunition in Manchuria, or without guns on the slopes of the Carpathians.

Finally Alexander yielded to the courtiers and reluctantly entered a conspiracy. It seems that his father's blood does not rest upon his memory. He had promised to become czar if his father's personal safety were secured. That night Paul was dethroned and murdered, and this event cast a gloom over Alexander's sensitive and naturally affectionate nature which clouded all his days. He could not punish the murderers, for they were his fellow conspirators and friends, and Russia was then, as ever, in reality an oligarchy with the forms of royalty. But he never ceased to blame himself for his father's death.

All this had happened fourteen years before Alexander arrived, last of the important figures who gathered at Vienna. He had already shown considerable diplomatic skill, especially when he gained Bessarabia from Turkey, and Finland from Sweden, and yet managed to keep both countries on his side in his impending war with Napoleon. In his own country, Alexander had proved sometimes as absolute as Catharine, again as liberal as his good old friend La Harpe. To each mood was added much of the mysticism of all the Romanoffs. With all his brilliance and his charm, was there also in his melancholy something of his father's and his brother's madness? It may well have been. He

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came to Vienna in person to make sure that Russia received as an independent kingdom the whole of Poland which was already occupied by his armies, and to see that his friends, the kings of Sweden and of Prussia, were properly rewarded for the sacrifices which he had called on them to make. He was determined that Bernadotte should not fail to get Norway, and that Prussia should be rewarded for the loss of her Polish provinces at the expense of the unlucky King of Saxony. For bargains are bargains, and doubtless Alexander had learned from La Harpe that honor is a duty even among kings.

The Czar found all Europe gathered at Vienna when he arrived,—all Europe, it must be said, with three or four quite significant exceptions. For example, among the absent there was the protector of the faithful, Mahmoud II, Sultan of Turkey, who was not concerned at all with the business in hand, since Alexander had already got Bessarabia by the treaty of Bucharest in 1812. Then there were those who were quite too intimately concerned to be comfortable companions. Conspicuous by their absence from so brilliant an assembly of more than a hundred kings, princes, and great diplomats were the King of Saxony, for he was confidently expected to furnish the entrée for the gathering, and the King of Denmark, an old friend of Napoleon's who was counted on to supply the dessert. For our diplomats were distinctly not there for their health. In much the same class was Murat, the King of Naples, whose plebeian origin and family connection with the deposed Emperor would be especially hard to tuck safely under Talleyrand's warm bed-quilt of legitimacy. And among the exceptions we must not forget the King of Elba, late Bonaparte, master of the destinies of Europe, now busy with his gardening. He was

not invited, but, not standing on any ceremony, was doubtless planning even then to be on time to break up the party.

All that summer which lay between the preliminary arrangements by which eight powers signed the peace of Paris and the great meeting of the diplomats at Vienna was a time full of high hopes and expectations among the liberals of Europe. By some wonderful magic, arrangements were to be made which would forever reconcile the two principles of liberty and order. From the standpoint of to-day we can readily see what were the real consequences of the Napoleonic era in Europe. These, beyond any question, are the reestablishment of the British empire, whose foundations had been severely shaken in the American war; the awakening of the spirit of nationality, especially in Germany under the burning words of Fichte and the great leadership of Stein; and the spread of the French notions of constitutional liberty and equality. Russia, Germany, Italy, and France could never be again what they had been before. But the men who went to Vienna were too close to these results to see them in their full significance, and the event showed that much of what the liberals desired was to be postponed to other days, and that they must win their goal by their own efforts. To Metternich it seemed that the world wanted peace and not liberty. The past, and not the future, became the guide of the deliberations, and Chateaubriand, with his shallow notions, was their prophet. The same love for an idealized past, a past full of gallant knights and gentle ladies dealing kindly with an essentially inferior population, which produced such remarkable effects in religion and in literature, was also the sentimental notion which replaced Louis XVIII on his throne and which led the authors of the restoration to see, or rather to pretend to see, in the indolent,

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clever, and gouty king a true representative of kingly heroism. The age of Napoleon seemed a time full of sound and fury. Men remembered how in the spring of 1813 the peasants of two provinces of Russia had gathered up the bodies of more than ninety thousand men which had been lying all winter unburied in the snow. The past alone had healing for the wounds of the present.

The idea of legitimacy, of which Talleyrand was the author, and which he used so cleverly for his own purposes, was readily accepted by Metternich as the exact statement of his own most profound convictions. To Talleyrand it was a weapon which might well serve his ends and then be modified and even discarded without a tear. But to Metternich it was an abiding principle of action from which he never consciously swerved and which he believed in just as truly when, many years later, it drove him in flight from Vienna, as he did when it was first declared as the fundamental policy of the Congress of Vienna. "I do not know how to compromise," he wrote in 1848 to Nicholas of Russia, and his whole career was a commentary on this statement. If loyalty and sincerity are the supreme ethical qualities, then Metternich was a virtuous man. In a spirit of perfect consistency he later framed the doctrine of intervention which sent an Austrian army to restore Ferdinand of Naples to his absolute authority, and a French army across the Pyrenees into Spain to put down revolution there. This same idea of legitimacy also made Metternich unwilling to have anything to do with the rising rebellion in Greece which was to begin the dismemberment of the Turkish empire and to introduce the so-called Eastern Question into the deliberations of Europe.

But this principle as it was first explained by Talleyrand to Alexander in Paris was not necessarily the wholly

reactionary idea which it became in the hands of the relentless Metternich. It meant simply that mere conquest should not be allowed to give title in a well-ordered world. Changes in the shape and size of states should be based upon broad historic considerations. Although it was actually invoked to safeguard the property rights of certain kings in their governments, it is essentially capable of being used to-day in a modified form which is, after all, not so very different from Talleyrand's first version. Its spirit would say to an assembled world to-day, not what Metternich made it say in the two decades after the Congress of Vienna, "Kings shall never be dethroned," but rather this: "Power alone shall not settle the question of Belgium. National rights, popular aspiration, legitimate economic hopes must determine the ownership of Macedonia, of Trieste and the Dalmatian coast." And interpreted thus in the interests of people, and not of kings and governments, it is yet a principle to which every thoughtful liberal might well subscribe.

At Vienna this idea of legitimacy, which might have been broadened and made genuinely fruitful, was used in a few cases and was then discarded in the interest of what seemed the more immediate requirements of the hour. To France, far more than to the Bourbons, it rendered an inestimable service, for it really performed a miracle. Her historic bounds were restored to her practically intact, and even after the return of Napoleon and the disaster at Waterloo she lost only Savoy, which was to be restored to her later under the influence of Cavour, and some comparatively unimportant frontier fortresses. The real criticism of the diplomats of Vienna is not that they clung too closely to the idea of legitimacy in their territorial settlements, but rather that they interpreted it too narrowly and that they departed from it too often either in the spirit of cowardice or of utter

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selfishness. For in reality the only important application of the idea was made in May at the peace of Paris, which guaranteed independence and favorable frontiers to France, rather than at the congress itself.

In the important settlement which the congress made of the question of Piedmont, the little state which was to be the cradle of Italian unity, it was perfectly evident that the idea of legitimacy was no longer dominant. The reactionary king, who had been living in Sardinia under the protection of English gunboats, was recalled and his territories were increased, not in the interests of any principle of justice, but so that there might be a real buffer state to stand between the French and the wide-spread Austrian lands in the Valley of the Po. Metternich feared with all his soul that some day a new Napoleon might arise and, invoking the memory of the dead hero, might again sweep across those rich and ill-gotten lands with new legions of another French republic or empire. He could little have foreseen that in less than half a century this same little state which he had placed in the gate of Italy, transformed and glorified by the self-sacrifice of one man, a king who kept his promises, and strengthened by the genius of another, the greatest diplomat and statesman of his day, with the aid of the nephew of the exiled Emperor, would, on the bloody battle-fields of Magenta and Solferino, bring to an end all the carefully balanced results of this great congress. Legitimacy required that Venice, conquered by the Corsican, should be restored; but that rich state, future home of Manin, was added to Austria. The ancient Republic of Genoa was given to Piedmont. As Metternich cynically said: "Republics are no longer in style."

The same fear of an aggressive France showed itself in two other arrangements of the congress. In the south,

Switzerland was strengthened by the addition of new cantons and was neutralized by the common agreement of the powers. It is perfectly evident to-day that although the neutrality of Switzerland has never been violated, she owes vastly more to the almost impregnable nature of her mountain fastnesses, especially under the conditions of modern war, and more still to the well-organized character of her militia, than she does to this idea of neutralization from which the Congress of Vienna expected so much. It is very difficult to see what rights neutralization has ever given to Switzerland, or to Belgium, or to Luxemburg which these states do not have both in morality and in law as simple members of the family of nations. Sovereignty was destroyed or lessened in certain very definite respects and nothing of value added in its place. The world will never be safe for a formally neutralized state until it is also safe for every independent and reasonably orderly state, however small or weak.

In a great many ways the union of Belgium and Holland under one monarch and one government was the most interesting territorial experiment originated at Vienna. How completely would the success of that one arrangement have changed the whole future history of Europe and even of the world! Our diplomats thought that they had created a rich, strong state, endowed with a glorious colonial empire, populated by a thrifty, courageous, and energetic people. One might imagine that when they created this new state they were not trying to place a protection in front of weak and defenceless Prussia against the aggression of fierce, warlike, aggressive France, the lustre of whose military prowess was scarcely dimmed even in this most glorious of all defeats; but rather that with prophetic eye they peered through the misty depths of one hundred crowded years to the time when this same Low Country, with all the agricultural wealth of Hol-

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land, known even then, and with the unguessed industrial possibilities of Belgium, safe in its own proud strength, safe by the solemn promises of the nations, safe with its dykes, safe because the aggressor must inevitably see its rich island empire pass into the hands of a rival, would stand like a bulwark against fiercer and more relentless aggression than even Napoleon ever dreamed. Certainly they saw at least this, that Belgium and Holland together might withstand the shock of any blow which might fall on them from either east or west, and that with their great ports they would forever be the natural commercial highway to the heart of Europe.

The fact that this experiment failed so dismally within fifteen years should not make us blind to the essential nobility of the plan. It is true that the people of Belgium and Holland were divided by very substantial differences of religion, of culture, and of language. I suppose that the so-called principle of nationality can be violated either by separating people who want to be together or by uniting those who desire to be separate. But the diplomats of Vienna did not lay much store by this new motto, which seemed to rise like an unholy exhalation from the smoke and bloodshed of the Revolution. And one must confess that, however valuable the idea of nationality may be as a general principle, it has not always been synonymous with liberty, and has sometimes been actually violated with enduring success. Other considerations, historical and practical, have determined the frontiers of nations and the composition of their citizenship. At least in the cases of the two republics of Switzerland and of the United States, one is strong in spite of very great differences in language, religion, and race, while the other is proud of the wonderful assimilative power of its institutions. One only needs to go back to the jeal-

ousies and rivalries which separated the thirteen colonies to see that an even greater experiment in union might easily have failed. If William of Orange, proud heir of a thrice distinguished name, had been more wise and tactful, if there had been enough political wisdom to devise a looser form of union in which the two peoples might have had the real strength of union without the galling shackles of complete amalgamation, even the great differences in history and in racial sympathy between the two peoples might well have been overcome to the lasting good of all. To-day we should certainly be living in a very different world.

In one other case the congress united dissimilar peoples, when it gave Norway to Sweden in return for Finland, which Bernadotte had yielded to Alexander as far back as 1812. This case was somewhat different from the union of Belgium and Holland, for each of the two had its own national history and traditions and the economic interests of the two peoples were certainly more distinct; but even with all these disadvantages, the union endured under a looser form than the one attempted for Belgium and Holland until our own day.

In arranging the Belgian line with the new Prussian territories on the Rhine, the chief idea was to secure a frontier as straight and easily defended as possible, a policy which was certainly carried out very successfully, as a glance at the map will show. This is significant as a test of the contention which was made in 1914 that Germany had to invade Belgium for fear of being invaded herself. Every foot of her western frontier north of Switzerland has been selected within a hundred years by Prussia herself, and with military considerations specifically in mind. After the Germans are driven out of Belgium and northern France by allied armies,

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there is some hint in this of the difficulty of the problem which still remains ahead if it is necessary to carry the campaign still farther.

Most of the arrangements which we have discussed were already formulated, at least roughly, at the time of the peace which was signed in Paris after Napoleon's abdication. The eight powers which signed this peace then agreed to meet in Vienna within two months to "complete the provisions of that treaty." It was not until the middle of September that representatives of the four great powers which had defeated Napoleon arrived at the capital of Austria. Gentz, the Austrian representative, has stated with remarkable frankness the spirit of that meeting, which contrasted so strangely with the high hopes which all liberals had entertained during the summer. His statement makes one somewhat pessimistic unless the liberal forces of the world are very much more watchful and powerful to-day than they were in 1814. "The grand phrases," he says, "such as 'the regeneration of the political system of Europe,' 'a lasting peace founded on the just division of strength,' were uttered to tranquillize the people, and to give an air of dignity and grandeur to this solemn assembly; but the real purpose was to divide among the conquerors the spoils taken from the vanquished."

The committee of the four great powers soon showed that they had no intention at all of allowing any one else to have any real part in the deliberations. They were planning to have everything cut and dried to announce to the rest when they arrived, quite after the fashion of a modern political convention. When Talleyrand left Paris he said, "I am probably going to play a very sorry part." When he reached Vienna he realized that it was no place at all for a modest man, and modesty was certainly not one of our ex-bishop's

besetting sins. In their first interview he said to Metternich, who was acting as the master of ceremonies, that he "was both able and knew how to sit." Metternich took the hint, and decided to ask the representatives of Spain and France to meet at his house on the evening of September 30, along with the four. Talleyrand managed to get a good seat near the head of the table, and Castlereagh, the very pompous English representative, turned to him and said: "The object of to-day's conference is to make you acquainted with what the four courts have done since we have been here." Then to Metternich: "You have the protocol of the allies." "Allies against whom?" said Talleyrand quietly. "Napoleon is on the island of Elba. If there are still allied powers, then I am an intruder here." "We used the word only for brevity." "Brevity, my lord, is valuable, but accuracy is still better." In a later conference of the self-appointed committee, Talleyrand was admitted to a full share in the deliberations. At this time he was posing as the champion of all the little powers, and especially of Saxony, in the name of the principle of legitimacy. Prussia was fully determined that Saxony should be hers as one of the spoils of war. Talleyrand made the seemingly innocent proposal that when the congress should meet it should be carried on according to the public law. Since all the powers had agreed that the idea of legitimacy was a part of that law, one can easily see the drift of this proposal. The Prussian, Hardenberg, who was very deaf, just managed to catch the expression. He leaped to his feet, pounding the table with his fist, and shouted: "No, sir; public law is a useless phrase. Why say that we shall act according to public law? . . . What has public law to do here?" "This," answered the former grand chamberlain of Napoleon: "that it sends you here," for without public law Prussia would have perished at Jena. So

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Talleyrand managed to set the committee by the ears over the partition of Saxony and the fate of Poland, and at the same moment gained for his own discredited country such a place that it practically became the arbiter of the deliberations, and the foreign minister of Louis XVIII gave his master an influence such as no French king had had since the days of the one who could say with truth: "L'état, c'est moi!"

It must be confessed that after the French representative gained for himself so prominent a place in the committee of the great powers, he showed little further zeal in the matter of assembling the actual congress, and the strangest thing about the Congress of Vienna is that in the strictest sense there never was any congress at all. Although more than a hundred kings, princes, and diplomats were present in the city, they never were asked to assemble in one room to deliberate. The leaders of the congress simply met together in more or less self-appointed committees, very often deliberated informally before dinner in the evening, or else intrigued secretly behind one another's backs. The nearest approach to an actual congress was a committee of eight powers, including the five great powers of the day and, in addition, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, which met occasionally at Metternich's house and appointed other subcommittees to deal with special problems.¹ This committee had Metternich as chairman and Gentz as secretary. I suppose it is inevitable that in any great assembly which is to make arrangements of an intricate kind, the real work must be done by committees. But at Vienna there was no one to insist that the work of these small bodies should be finally reported to the main assembly. The arrangements which

¹ One important subcommittee organized the German Confederation. Another did the same for Switzerland.

were made in these devious and undemocratic ways were finally gathered together into what was called the final act of the Congress of Vienna and signed just a few days before the battle of Waterloo.

Outwardly the congress seemed an assembly of notables bent on pleasure alone. Vienna spent a sum equivalent to at least fifty thousand dollars a day on the entertainment of its guests. One who was there tells us: "The emperors dance, Metternich dances, Castlereagh dances. Only the Prince de Talleyrand does not dance," having a club-foot. "He plays whist." It seemed to the Prince de Ligne, as it must also have seemed to an eagerly waiting world, so soon to be disillusioned when it found back of the mask of fine phrases the same old selfishness and greed, that "the congress danced but did not advance." This same prince found himself about to die in the midst of the celebrations, and as he died he said: "I am preparing for the members of this congress a new amusement, the obsequies of a field marshal, a cavalier of the Golden Fleece."

Under all this appearance of gaiety there was enough of bitterness and of hatred. This was directed especially against Prussia and Russia, which had agreed, under the influence of Stein, that one was to receive Saxony and the other Poland. To these arrangements Austria was bitterly opposed, and Talleyrand made skilful use of the occasion to make himself leader of the opposition. England at first had her hands tied on account of the war against the United States. Her veteran soldiers had burned Washington in August and were soon to meet the sharpshooters of Andrew Jackson at New Orleans. On December 24 the peace of Ghent was signed with the United States, not so much, as Clay fondly believed, on account of his skill as a diplomat, but because there was every likelihood of even more stirring

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days in Europe. If Napoleon had landed from Elba in January instead of in March, he would have found his enemies divided in their councils and have had good chances of success. For on January 3, England, Austria, and France signed a secret treaty against the two great powers of the East.¹ But in the weeks which followed the differences were finally compromised and the famous arrangements were made by which Prussia received not only the fertile lands on the banks of the Rhine which had been occupied by France since 1794, but also Swedish Pomerania and the upper half of the kingdom of Saxony, which, in the language of the day, brought her population to ten million souls! Russia was satisfied with a large part of Poland, to which Alexander agreed to give a liberal constitution; and Austria gained the rich valley of the Po in northern Italy. England was content, for the kingdom of Hanover, which was under her king, was enlarged until it occupied all the southern coast of the North Sea not already held by other small powers, thus making the already dangerous Prussia a purely Baltic power. Peace left Great Britain the undisputed mistress of the seas.

Modern Germans have sometimes blamed the Congress of Vienna for not having given them Alsace and Lorraine, which is like blaming Adam for not having invented gunpowder. The bare idea had indeed been advocated, but until the congress had adjourned it does not seem to have entered any one's head as a serious political possibility that these provinces should belong to any one except France. Stein, the great Prussian statesman who acted as one of Alexander's chief advisers at the congress, was bitterly disappointed not to receive the whole of Saxony as he had

¹ Napoleon found a copy of this treaty on the table of the French king when he arrived in Paris and, characteristically, sent it to Alexander.

hoped, but he was well satisfied with the eastern frontier, as he well might be. For Prussia had acquired a population as numerous as at the time of her greatest extent, and one vastly more homogeneous. Not so much by the help of the weak Frederick William and of the deaf Hardenberg, but through Stein and Alexander of Russia, she had lost Poles and gained Germans. Her boundaries gave her the central position which made her the natural leader of the future German Empire, and which has proved of such inestimable military value in the present war. Her real grievance against the diplomats of Vienna lay in the north and centre, where Hanover, under the English king, lay like a great wedge cutting her territories in two and shutting her off effectually from the sea. It was not until almost half a century later that Prussia acquired a single important window which looked out toward the open Atlantic.

The return of Napoleon found all these arrangements virtually completed, and a great fear did that for unity which nine months of discussion had been unable to accomplish. As a result of the Hundred Days and the cowardice of his soldiers,¹ Murat was to lose his throne and life; France, too, was to give up a little of the very favorable frontier which the genius of Talleyrand had secured for her; but the final act of the congress was expected to usher in a new age of peace and good will, under wise kings and kindly landlords, after the Corsican should have ceased from troubling and the weary peoples be at rest, and the battle of Waterloo seemed to place the seal of a divine approval on its deeds.

¹ It was of these soldiers that their former king said: "You may dress them in blue, or you may dress them in green, or you may dress them in red, but any way you dress them they will run!"

II

THE CONGRESS OF PARIS

IN our last lecture we studied the persons and the policies of the congress which met to divide Napoleon's gaudy coat of many colors and to inaugurate a new age of peace under the banner of legitimacy. For with all its selfishness, there had been a little idealism too, such as it was, and at least some of its members would have subscribed quite readily to the words of the French author who was then writing: "I belong to the general community of all mankind who since the beginning of the world have prayed to God." The authors of the final act at Vienna had met more than once afterward. They had imposed peace a second time on the finally beaten Emperor, and had sent him to weave his legend in the solitude of St. Helena. They had accepted the words of Alexander and signed the pact of the Holy Alliance, in which each promised before God that he would rule his people with justice and behave toward the others as a brother. Four of them had later promised to make peace compulsory by forever destroying among them the spirit of unrest and revolution from which they thought the world derived its troubles. And from their frequent councils had gone forth the troops which had quelled popular risings in Naples, in Piedmont, and in Spain. The first rift in their arrangements had come when England, whose commerce was now expanding, had refused to help put down the newly won independence of the Spanish colonies, and when, on the hint of Canning, John Quincy Adams had written the mem-

orable state paper which was to be forever known as the Monroe Doctrine.

Now all were dead save Metternich, and he was living in retirement, having been blown aside by the storms of 1848. In his own country, power had fallen from the trembling hand of Ferdinand, and even the young Francis Joseph had barely been held on what seemed then the most precarious throne in Europe by the fierce soldiers of his "brother," Nicholas of Russia. With what kingly gratitude he repaid this debt we shall soon see. It was an hour of new problems, for into western Europe had come the age of factories and capital, of great industrial cities with their slums, and under the leadership of men like Louis Blanc in France and Robert Owen in England the people had begun to ask strange new questions and to dream even stranger dreams. In international affairs, the revolt of Greece had awakened the national instincts of many a submerged people, and the peace which Russia had dictated to the Sultan under the walls of Adrianople had proved to the members of the still Holy Alliance that they were not only brothers, as the dead Alexander had said, but also expectant heirs waiting with scarcely concealed eagerness at the bedside of what everybody believed to be the very, very sick man of Europe—strangely convalescent in these days, it sometimes seems. In this expectant heirship lay the real cause of the war which was to end what Tennyson was calling "the long, long canker of peace," and to furnish the occasion of the second of the great peace congresses of the nineteenth century.

In the year 1853, three men were the masters of the destinies of Europe—Louis Napoleon, Nicholas of Russia, and Lord Palmerston—each destined to play a leading part in the great farce which was even then being rehearsed. Of these three, Nicholas and Palmerston had long been promi-

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ment, while Napoleon was at the very beginning of his astonishing career. In political ideals the three had much in common, although their methods were so different that each would undoubtedly have regarded it as a great insult to have been told so frankly. It is often easier to say those things after men are dead. "The methods of Nicholas were those of the lion-tamer; he had conquered by terror, and his trust was in steel whips and iron bars. Napoleon had charmed the monster's ear with soothing phrases, had slipped a bit between its teeth and blinkers over its eyes, and harnessed it in triumph to the car of Empire."¹ To this very day men are hopelessly divided as to the real character of the strange adventurer, with his affable winning ways, who looked out from the mask of a smiling face with those half-closed eyes which never smiled. Was this second Napoleon a mere trickster and an actor, always wearing his dead uncle's hat and coat to hide his petty spirit, as he had worn them in the flesh when first he sought to win the garrison at Strassburg? Or was he, after all, something of a statesman who saw beneath the forms of things the moving spirit of the times? Was he a dreamer, as Bismarck thought, or was Cavour right when he called him the most positive genius of his day? Did he love absolutism for its own sake, or did he merely use it as a stepping-stone to liberty? We know perfectly well what Napoleon did, but who can say with any dogmatic certainty what he was? Perhaps he did not quite know this himself, and played his various parts with such sincerity that they came to dominate and even to control him. Clotilde, his cousin, who was once destined to be his wife, said of him long before he became emperor or famous: "If Louis becomes my husband, I will crack his head open to find out what thoughts, if any, are inside." Maybe that is the reason

¹ Phillips, "Modern Europe," p. 332.

they never married, and that Eugénie came to be empress in the Tuileries.

If we have trouble in getting a clear impression of the French ruler, the qualities of Nicholas stand out in bold relief. The third son of Paul, he was only five years old when his brother Alexander became czar. His mother brought him up with the greatest care, always fearful that some liberal notion might slip in to contaminate the purity of his royal mind. Needless to say, no La Harpe was provided for this young prince. Instead his chief tutor was a certain old Prussian soldier, whom the boy called "Papa Lamsdorf." From him Nicholas learned the soldierly virtues, directness, courage, love of order and authority; and he had no trace of the dreamy idealism which had marked the earlier career of his brother. His creed could be summed up in three words, Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality, or more fully in the words of one of the most influential writers of his time: "A nation is not a chance creation, but a living organism. Sovereignty comes from God. Its nature is not to be despotic but absolute. Legitimate kings are God's delegates to preserve the traditions and the unity of the past with the present." Alexander died in 1825, just a hundred years after his illustrious ancestor, Peter the Great, "of sheer weariness of life," as Metternich said, disillusioned and utterly discouraged at the hopeless compromise between absolutism and liberty. Among his papers was found a message to his successor, written at the Congress of Vienna, in which he expressed his own political ideals: "The Russian Empire is an autocratic state, and whether we consider its dimensions or its geographic position, the degree of its education or many other circumstances, we must admit that this form of government is the only one which will be proper for Russia for many years."

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Whatever doubts existed in the mind of his brother were entirely absent from that of the soldierly young prince who now succeeded to the throne. The very first incident in his long reign was ominously significant. Constantine, the elder brother, was an erratic prince who was thought to have liberal views; and when he refused to take the vacant throne, the liberals started a revolution in the capital with the cry, "Constantine and the constitution!" At the trial of the rioters it came out that some of the common soldiers believed that "Constitution" was Constantine's kindly Polish wife. Nicholas was no man to be trifled with. Shots were fired, the crowd dispersed, and the fleeing rioters were pursued without pity by the mounted Cossacks. So many bodies were thrown into the river and became frozen in the ice, that an order was issued not to use the water that winter. Nicholas always believed that on that December day he had saved Russia from inevitable perdition. We have a naïve letter which he wrote to his brother, apologizing for a certain softness; for when the court had ordered the leaders to be quartered, he had commuted the punishment for some to ordinary hanging, which he seemed to think a luxurious form of death. Many others were sent to spend the rest of their days in the salt-mines of Siberia. In his external policy he was dominated by the idea that Russia, with her great army, was to be the chief of police for Europe. When the news of the February revolution reached him, he was surrounded by his nobles. "Saddle your horses, gentlemen; a revolution has been proclaimed in France!" But France was too far away, especially with discontent so much nearer to his doors, and he satisfied himself for the moment with issuing a strange manifesto against the western liberals, ending with words which to-day might emanate from his royal relative at Potsdam: "God is with us! Take heed, O

Nations, and submit, for God is with us." Throughout his career there is no reason for doubting that within his judgment, which was narrow, and by his lights, which were dim, he sincerely desired the good of Russia and her church. But there remained in Russia the autocracy above, serfdom below, and the reign of anarchy among administrators and landowners.

Toward Turkey, Nicholas inherited the policy of expansion which came down to him unbroken from the days of Peter the Great. He believed that Russia was the predestined saviour of the fourteen millions of Christian subjects who groaned under the heavy rule of the Sultan. The Greek revolt gave him his great opportunity, and in two campaigns the Russian arms were carried almost within the shadow of the Sultan's capital (1829). Greece was independent, and Roumania and Servia were to be autonomous states under the sovereign protection of Russia. In case of disturbance, Russia was given much the same right of intervention which the United States has to-day in Cuba. Four years later, Nicholas helped Turkey to put down an insurrection which might have destroyed the Sultan's power, and as a reward the two states signed a secret treaty which allowed Russia to close the straits against any of her enemies in time of war. It was now evident enough that the control of Constantinople was the supreme ambition of the Russian autocrat, and England, under the leadership of Palmerston, stepped in to interfere and began to pose as the protector of the Sultan against the aggressions of his too powerful neighbor. Nicholas maintained his supremacy at Constantinople by fear alone, and when the Porte discovered a friend it turned and grasped the proffered hand with all alacrity. From that moment for many years the English minister at Constantinople was the virtual master of the destinies of the

Turkish empire. Except for one brief moment after 1907, Turkey has never since been an actually independent or sovereign state. Her policy has been clear and consistent throughout. However her masters might change, she has fought bravely and served well whomever might be most likely to preserve her power. All talk of Turkish independence has been mere cant, and in his foreign policy the Sultan has cowered like a dog beneath the crack of his master's whip. First it was the Russian, then the Englishman, and to-day it is the German; and it has been safe to prophesy throughout that whoever wins, Turkey eventually loses. And never did any ruling class more richly deserve to lose, as the massacres in Greece, the atrocities in Bulgaria, and the cruelties in Armenia most fully testify. Of all her masters, only the Russian has mingled a little of idealism with his selfishness, and has had in his purpose the final good of shattered peoples, or has had at stake a goal genuinely vital to the nation.

The ruling spirit in England was a representative of the great landed aristocracy, Lord Palmerston. It must be remembered that all this was before the days of the two great reform bills which were to give the suffrage to the common people and go far toward making England, at least politically, democratic. Palmerston believed in all the national movements which were going on in Italy and Hungary. He thought that the British constitution as it stood at that time was the last word in the history of human liberty. If a country had a House of Commons which represented the respectable classes, carefully guarded by a House of Lords to represent the aristocracy, what more could it desire? It therefore happened that German conservatives said that if the devil had a son it must be Palmerston, and that English Liberals regarded him as the most dangerous

man in Europe. Cobden said that Palmerston was the worst minister who had ever ruled England. Later on, when he needed his aid, Palmerston asked Cobden to join his ministry. The great Liberal said that it was impossible on account of the words which he had used. "Oh, that's all right; other men are with me who said even harsher things," said Palmerston, with a winning smile. "The difference," answered Cobden, without a smile, "is that I meant them." But it would not be quite fair to call Palmerston a hypocrite. He used cant without knowing it. He was one of those men who decide on policies for the most selfish ends and then make themselves believe that they are in themselves right. His absolute certainty as to his own infallibility was to him a source of great political strength, for with his eloquence he was able to persuade other and weaker men against their own judgment. Two men whose names should stand very high in any list of statesmen and lovers of humanity are an exception—Richard Cobden and John Bright. They always saw through him. But, as Palmerston said: "Cobden, Bright, and Company don't count in England to-day." He doubtless hoped that they would never count. He feared with all his soul that the day of reform might come. He distrusted the common people with the ballot in their hands, and dreaded a day which must inevitably sweep men of his stamp away and put power into the hands of men like "the Reverend Gentleman," as he sarcastically called John Bright on the floor of the House of Commons. On two memorable occasions, Palmerston's instinctive dislike for the young Republic across the seas almost brought England into war with America.

In his foreign policy the English minister sought to turn the thoughts of his countrymen from dangerous dreams of liberty to the glory of the empire. One of the first conse-

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quences of the outbreak of the war with Russia was to compel the postponement of Russell's Reform Bill. That statesman had to announce to the House of Commons, in a speech broken by emotion, that "his darling had been given to the lions." Both Nicholas and Napoleon unwittingly played into the hands of the English minister. The Russian czar had come to England in 1844, and had suggested to Aberdeen, the foreign minister, that there was no essential difference between the interests of England and Russia in the East, and that the two might well come to some agreement as to the eventual disposition of the "sick man's" property. The ministers had listened to this cold-blooded proposal with some sympathy, and the paper was filed away in the Foreign Office for future reference. All except Palmerston. He had persuaded himself that Constantinople in the hands of Russia would be a vital injury to England. Just how, he did not stop to explain. He remembered with reverence the forgotten policy of his great predecessor Pitt, who was about to go to war with Russia about the Black Sea when the storm of the French Revolution burst. In later years Gladstone was to describe the debt of Europe to the Christian nations of the Balkans in a memorable passage of his eloquence: "They were like a shelving beach which restrained the ocean. That beach, it is true, is beaten by the waves; it is laid desolate; it produces nothing; it becomes perhaps nothing save a mass of shingle, of rock, of almost useless seaweed. But it is the fence behind which the cultivated earth can spread and escape the incoming tide, and such was the resistance of Bulgarians, of Servians, and of Greeks. It was that resistance which left Europe to claim the enjoyment of her own religion and to develop her institutions and her laws." All this Palmerston would perhaps have acknowledged, but when the issue was one of rivalry with Russia he was willing

that the beach should still remain desolate and barren. He even went so far as to talk of "the mild and beneficent rule of the Sultan." At the very moment when my Lord Palmerston was talking of Turkish independence, his representative in Constantinople, the astute Stratford, was writing the Sultan's notes, and carrying on both sides of a correspondence with England at the same time. Later, "when the French and Austrian terms were discussed in the cabinet—at the end of the discussion some one modestly asked whether it would not be proper to communicate with Musurus what was in agitation and what had been agreed upon, to which Clarendon said he saw no necessity whatever; and that, indeed, Musurus had recently called upon him, when he had abstained from giving him any information whatever of what was going on." When we remember that "what was going on" was the determination of the fate of Turkey, and that the countrymen of Ambassador Musurus were at that moment fighting bravely side by side with the French and English in the Crimea, we see clearly what Palmerston and Clarendon meant by Turkish sovereignty and independence. Perhaps Palmerston *was* a hypocrite, after all.

Under ordinary circumstances it is doubtful whether Palmerston could have led the English people into war, which he was always saying was inevitable, just as until recently some of our American jingoes were telling us that war with Japan was inevitable, and therefore presumably desirable. But Nicholas listened to the frantic appeals of the thoroughly frightened Francis Joseph, and sent his soldiers to put down the liberal movement in Hungary, which they did with great thoroughness and cruelty. Well might Louis Kossuth stretch forth his right hand before the crowds of London and say, "If it had not been for Nicholas, I had held the Hapsburgs in the hollow of that hand!" The

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Czar was no politician, and he chose the very moment when the escaped Hungarian patriot was electrifying crowds in England and America with his eloquence—for Kossuth spoke English with singular power and grace—to broach again, and this time more bluntly, his scheme for the liberation of the Balkans. His success in Hungary made him feel that he too held the Hapsburgs in the hollow of his royal hand, and if only England did not interfere the end of Turkey had come. How much of bloodshed and of wickedness and wrong had been prevented had Nicholas had his way!

The conversations of the Czar of Russia with the English minister at St. Petersburg are among the most frank and remarkable in the whole history of diplomacy. Nicholas said he feared that the "sick man" would die suddenly and his estate fall into chaos and dissolution. He wanted England to agree that Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria should be independent states, with frontiers according to nationality. England was to take Egypt, Cyprus, and Crete to protect the line to India. As to Constantinople, Nicholas was quite vague. But he did not want it to fall into the hands of England or France. He did not want the Greeks to reestablish the Byzantine Empire, and above all he did not want it to become a little republic, "a refuge to the Kossuths and Mazzinis of Europe"; so it did not take a diplomatic genius to divine his real purpose. These proposals, and especially the last, shocked terribly the finer moral feelings of Lord Palmerston. The English people hated Nicholas with good cause as a tyrant. Nicholas proceeded to invade Roumania, to sink the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea, and to advance victoriously in the Caucasus. And so the war came, virtually a war for the possession of Constantinople.

All this time the new Emperor in Paris had been eagerly

awaiting an opportunity to go to war, it did not much matter to him just where or why. He needed a safe little war somewhere which might add the glory of arms to the rising star of empire and make the French people believe that they had a true heir of the "Little Corporal," whose bones lay beneath the stately dome of the Invalides. Louis Philippe had fallen because the French were bored to death by the peaceful, corrupt policy of Guizot, and their new Emperor was determined at least to keep them awake. This particular war suited his purpose to a nicety. It would be dramatic to fight, side by side with the nation which had sent his uncle to St. Helena, against the brother of the Emperor who had broken that uncle's power in 1812. Nicholas had addressed him, with ill-concealed contempt, as "my friend," and not "my brother," when he had reluctantly recognized the Second Empire. Palmerston had always been his friend when he needed friends sorely enough. And did he not have a little quarrel of his own with Nicholas, as to whether the Greek or Latin monks should hold the key to the Holy Manger in Jerusalem? For our Emperor knew how to be religious and orthodox in his own way, too! It is true the quarrel about the manger had been settled a full year before the war started, though our school histories still persist in giving it as the cause of the Crimean war; but glory is glory, and Frenchmen were to die in the winter of the Crimea, and to leave their bones in a distant land, as their fathers had died for the glory of that other empire when the tricolor had first gleamed under all the heavens of Europe, at Wagram, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Friedland, and at Waterloo. They did not know that they were really dying to pull Palmerston's chestnuts out of a particularly hot fire.

I know of only one English writer in recent years who points with any pride to the diplomacy which brought about

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the Crimean war. That one published his history of the nineteenth century in 1913. At the close of his description of this episode he says with some condescension: "Captious critics of the policy of Lord Palmerston should remember that England is to-day in possession of Egypt and Cyprus, while Russia is no nearer Constantinople than she was in 1853."¹ That statement is unfortunately still true, but two years after this book was published, England had agreed to get Constantinople for Russia if she could, and her brave Australians were dying to secure the very thing which Palmerston and all the so-called statesmen of that day were so anxious to prevent. All the rest agree that the Crimean war "ought to have been and might have been avoided." Or, as one great English diplomat has said, "England put her money on the wrong horse!"

Even then there were men who could still see clearly. Lord Grey said, "We are arming to defend a phantasm, for the maintenance of the oppressor's domination."² Cobden pointed out the remarkable fact that the majority of the Sultan's subjects were passionately on the side of Russia. He was answered that they ought to know better. Even Disraeli, who was himself to make a like mistake, taunted the cabinet, "You are going to war with an opponent who does not want to fight, and you are unwilling to encounter him." But the whole influence of the press was the other way; the character of Nicholas was kept before the people. "The rage for this war gets every day more vehement, and nobody seems to fear anything but that we may not spend money and men enough in waging it," said one observer. And so when the war came, it was received with great popular enthusiasm.

¹ Marriott, "England Since Waterloo," p. 250.

² Paul, "History of Modern England," I, 332.

To this very day the fundamental question of the Crimean war remains unsolved. Who shall be the final heir of the unrivalled city on the straits? It stands at the crossing of two great lines of traffic. It reaches out to touch two continents. When defended with any skill it seems as nearly impregnable as any place in the world; for, alone among great commercial centres, it is situated at once on a peninsula and a strait. Its master owns a house with three doors which he may either open to his friends or close against his enemies. For almost a thousand years after it was founded, this imperial city was believed to be forever safe. Then, in the thirteenth century it changed hands three times, chiefly on account of the weakness of its defenders, the Greeks and the Venetians, until at last it fell into the hands of its present owners after the most memorable siege in history, when the cross was to blaze no longer on the incomparable dome of St. Sophia. Many times since that it has seemed that the Turks were sure to lose their capital, but always either its position or the jealous diplomacy of the rival heirs has intervened at the last minute to change its fate, and to-day the Turk stands in this gateway of the nations at least as firmly as ever. Historically, besides the Turk, only Greece and Italy could claim some right based on previous ownership. Modern Greeks do not forget that for a thousand years Greek religion and culture spread from the city on the Golden Horn over Russia and the Balkans. And to-day it is beyond question still a dream of men like Venizelos that imperial Greece may again hold sway over a united people from the shadow of the great cathedral. But one may well doubt whether modern Greece will ever have the culture or the strength that will be needed by the power which must hold the straits against so many rivals. In its population, Constantinople is probably the most cosmopolitan city except New

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York. Just before the present war, she contained 1,000,000 people, of whom less than half were Turks, and the remainder were divided among the various Christian nations, with 150,000 Greeks and, of course, the ever present colony of Jews. The idea of nationality does not seem to apply with any certainty to the final and just determination of this question. Constantinople would be a source of sentimental pride to the Greek; it would round out the Bulgarian coast and possibly add just a little to the natural strength of the Bulgarian position; it is undoubtedly a convenient avenue to the German and the Austrian. But to all these it is, after all, a luxury, and a luxury which might well prove in the long run a source of serious weakness rather than of strength. Each has ample access to the sea in other ways, unless perchance Austria should lose Trieste. But to Russia, under modern conditions of trade and war, Constantinople is not a mere luxury of imperial expansion or of sentimental pride. It is a vital and compelling necessity. Russia might hold these straits without menace or injury to any other power, but no one else can ever hold them without menace to Russia. The heart of Russia lies on the great rivers which either lead directly into the Black Sea or, like the Volga, are capable of close connection with it through canals. Even with railroads, the Baltic and the White seas have no ice-free ports. Vladivostok is too far away, and beyond the Persian Gulf there is evidently no real market for the goods of Russia. The wheat of Odessa, the oil of the Caucasus, must pass out through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. And yet in a moment war might come, and shut her off almost completely from the rest of the world. With the straits in the hands of a possible enemy or of a mere pawn like Turkey, Russia is compelled to maintain a fleet in the Black Sea to prevent just such an attack as she suffered in the Crimean

war, and yet that fleet might be shut up and made absolutely useless to her. Her inability to use the straits helped to defeat Russia in her war with Japan. To appreciate the traditional attitude of Russia to Constantinople, we must imagine New York the only North American port, and that port held by Mexico, and Mexico in turn dominated by Germany. In such a case it would take no great prophet to foresee that in spite of all the peace societies in the world, or even if we sent delegates once a year to the Hague, some day something would break. Russia might give up Poland, Finland, and even the Baltic provinces. She might withdraw her last soldier from the far-flung extremities of her empire. Mongolia, Khiva, Bokhara, and Persia might know her no more. But she will never forget Constantinople or willingly see it in the hands of a rival. No matter how this war ends; no matter whether Russia is to be a monarchy or a republic; no matter whether she adopts a centralized government or one based upon the local autonomy of her constituent races, the dream of that one gateway to the sea is sure to come again to haunt her, and to drive her like a mighty giant some day to stretch her arms and break her bonds. No treaties, no schemes of disarmament will forever keep an empire of 150,000,000 people from the sea. This is not imperialism, it is the will to life; and Russia is forever the foe of that power which holds the straits. The peace of the world will not be secure for many years if Austria loses Trieste, or if Germany permanently gains Constantinople. In the case of each city, the political and economic considerations seem entirely to outweigh the confused problem of nationality. At the time of the Crimean war, the issue seemed to be between the Russian and the Turk. It really was between the Englishman and the Russian. To-day it is just as clearly between the German and the Russian; and the Bulgarian,

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the German, and the Turk are to-day fighting side by side, just as the Englishman, the Frenchman, and the Turk fought a half century ago.

At the time of the Crimean war there was just one statesman in Europe who saw all this clearly and whose advice showed genuine foresight. That man was Bismarck, just beginning his remarkable career in Prussia. He urged Frederick William to throw Prussian influence on Russia's side, and to help her in her struggle against France and England. In all probability, he was already planning to get Strassburg from France and to eject Austria from her dominant position in Germany. In comparison with these ambitions, the solution of the Eastern Question seemed to him unimportant. From his point of view, it was really true that all the Balkans were not worth one Pomeranian grenadier, as he later said. And in the next congress we find Bismarck posing as the honest broker for Europe and willing to be an Austrian in Serbia and a Russian in Bulgaria. Bismarck never fully understood the intense feeling of nationality in the Balkans, but he did understand the question of Constantinople. The Turk was a mere pawn; Constantinople was sure to be Russian some day. Why not help her to get it, and in the meantime secure a position of leadership for discredited Prussia? He advised his old master in this vein. He would have placed a great army in upper Silesia as a threat to Austria, and would thus have released the forces which Nicholas had to keep idle watching for a possible attack from his jealous and ungrateful neighbor. If Nicholas had been able to use his full strength in the Crimea against his Western enemies, it seems likely that Russia would have won the war even without the loss of a single Prussian life. Prussia might even have captured the French city of Strassburg while Napoleon was far away storming

the defences of Sevastopol, and Prussia instead of France would have become the liberator of Italy. The results are easy to foresee. Russia and Prussia would have dominated eastern Europe, and Prussia would have gained the mastery of the small German states which held aloof for fear of France and Austria. In short, Bismarck's plan was to fight the wars of 1866 and 1870 all at once. Even if he had not gained all his objectives, it is hard to see how Prussia could have lost. For even if Nicholas lost in the Crimea, Prussia would be stronger in Germany. But Frederick William did not have the vision or the courage: "My dear boy," he said, "that is all very fine, but it is too expensive for me. A man of Napoleon's kind can afford to make such master-strokes, but not I."

As a result, Prussia's position during the war was most ignoble, much to Bismarck's chagrin. She kept her army where it seemed a threat to Russia, with whom she had no quarrel, and so helped to bring about the defeat of Nicholas. And yet she would not promise to help the allies. Consequently she barely gained a late admission to the congress which was to arrange the terms of peace.

Austria, too, played but a sorry part. Nicholas thought that he had won eternal gratitude from Francis Joseph, whose tottering throne had been propped by the bayonets of Russia, and that only five years before. But gratitude among rulers is proverbially short-lived, and Francis Joseph was no exception. Austria had no desire to see Russia grow strong on her frontier, and only the fear of an Italian insurrection kept her from sending her soldiers into the Crimea against the armies of the Czar. She dared not do this for fear Piedmont might attack her on the plains of Lombardy. But she massed her soldiers in Galicia, where she lost as many men from cholera as she would have lost in a cam-

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paign. When it was perfectly safe, she occupied with her troops Roumania, which the armies of Nicholas had been compelled to evacuate. So Austria made a bitter enemy, and was alone in the days of trial in 1859, 1864, and 1866. She had paved the way for her expulsion from Italy and Germany, and was to remain isolated and friendless until the days of the alliance which has endured so remarkably the shock of the present war.

Piedmont, under Cavour, seized the moment of Austrian weakness and hesitation to send a little well-equipped army of eighteen thousand men to play their part in the Crimea and to gain a place at the council table of the nations for their country. Cavour sent his Italians with the famous words, "You have the future of your country in your haversacks," and the men in the trenches caught the spirit of the great prime minister and answered with self-fulfilling prophecy, "Out of this mud Italy shall be made." The Italian soldiers were destined to take part in only one small skirmish, in which they lost twenty-eight men killed. But they fought in a dramatic moment of the great siege, and side by side with the greatest powers in Europe, and it was true that "in the waters of the Tchernaya the stain of Novara was wiped out for ever." "Cavour could speak with his enemies in the gate."

To the rest, the war was grim tragedy enough. The allies lost 100,000 men in those two terrible winters in the Crimea, a number equal to the greatest army which they ever had in the field at one time. Every other man who left England amid the early acclamations of the people was destined never to come back. Cold had to be endured such as Englishmen and Frenchmen had never dreamed possible. Then cholera spread. And to these enemies were added wretched arrangements of transportation and even poorer

generalship. Lord Raglan was a gallant old gentleman, but the task which he had undertaken was quite beyond his very moderate abilities. It is said that when the French marshal, as his subordinate, asked him for instructions, Raglan placed his hand on his heart and answered, "To men like you instructions are not given. I simply point and say, 'There is the enemy!'" As the Frenchman said, this was generous, but it was not war. Some one had constantly blundered. The common soldiers of all the armies fought with supreme devotion and courage, but each new general made mistakes which kept green the memory of his predecessors. Thousands of shoes were delivered to the freezing soldiers in the trenches, all for the left foot. Boxes of ammunition were sent to the base hospitals and drugs to the firing line. "Punch" pilloried the selfish greed of the contractors in a cartoon entitled, "One man's preserved meat is another man's poison."

In the meantime, conditions among the Russians in the beleaguered city were even worse. The Russian people had entered the war with almost the religious enthusiasm of a crusade. They were fighting not only for their Czar, but for their nation. Tolstoy visited the men on the front lines, and has recorded the quality of their spirit. "The principal joyous thought you have brought away with you is a conviction of the strength of the Russian people. What they do is all done so simply, with so little effort, that you feel convinced that they could do a hundred times as much." Korniloff, the commander, stands before them and shouts, "Lads, we will die, but we will not surrender Sevastopol!" and from down the long lines comes ringing back the echo of his words, "We will die! Hurrah!" And die they did. The figures of Russian losses given by the most conservative authorities are almost beyond belief, greater than the losses

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of any other army of equal size in modern times. Nicholas lost a full half million of the army of a million with which he started the war.¹ And the worst of it was that most of them died on account of red tape and lack of food. It was said that every road in southern Russia was lined with the bodies of the dead. One famous order was endorsed twenty-one times and was as yet unobeyed. Ox-carts were requisitioned from the peasants, and were then piled in great heaps unused. The whole system of which Nicholas was so proud had broken down completely. He had counted on Generals January and February to fight for him. But these grim generals distributed their ghastly favors with equal hand. After the loss of the first battle he felt that the hand of fate was on him and gave up all hope. "I cannot change," he said to his son. In 1848 he had said to his nobles, "Let us forget mutual grievances. Give your hands to one another as brothers, as children of our mother-country, so that the last hand may reach me, and then, under my leadership, rest sure that no earthly power can disturb us." They had taken him at his word, and he had failed. The man was weary, broken-hearted. In February he developed a slight cold. He refused to take even the most ordinary precautions, and died on the second of March, 1855. His last words to his son were, "I leave you a disordered house." "Punch" had another grim cartoon which showed "General February," as Death, laying an icy hand on the old man's heart.

The failure of Nicholas, however, was to bring some measure of good to the Russian people. Alexander II as heir had been as reactionary as his father or his son after him. At heart he was always an autocrat, even when he was called "The

¹ Cambridge Modern History, IX, 324.

Czar Liberator." But the necessities of the hour pressed the situation home to him with compelling force. Russia was full of great indignation and contempt. The people knew that the tragedies of the war were not their fault. The new Czar was threatened with revolt more dangerous to his house than any foreign enemy. There had been five hundred riots in the lifetime of his father. The next riot might be a revolution. Something had to be done, for Alexander was determined not to be another Louis XVI. He had the wisdom to see the danger and to make an immediate promise of reform. Within the next ten years the serfs were liberated, at least on paper; the legal system was changed and made more just; and some beginning was made in the direction of local self-government for Russia by the creation of local assemblies which should represent the peasants, the burghers, and the nobles. In these assemblies seems to lie the hope for an orderly democracy in Russia to-day. The liberated peasant was made responsible to his village for the little patch of six or seven acres which the typical family received, and all the land was to be paid for in forty-nine years. The final payments were made at last in 1910, and for the first time the average Russian peasant became an individual landowner. In the long run this change, here briefly sketched, was probably the most enduring consequence of the Crimean war.

With the fall of Sevastopol, all were anxious for peace except Palmerston and the Queen. England had made great sacrifices of men, money, and, most of all, of reputation, as was to be evident when the great Mutiny broke out in India the next year. But Napoleon would not go on, and there was no use trying to fight on alone, especially since it would be almost impossible to tell what they were fighting for.

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When Kars fell into his hands, it seemed to Alexander that a favorable moment had come to sue for peace, and the diplomats assembled in Paris to arrange the terms.

The chief issue of the war had already been settled by events and was beyond the reach of diplomacy. Constantinople was to remain Turkish, and that empire was to have its sovereignty and independence guaranteed by the joint action of the three allied powers, England, Austria, and France. The Sultan was to have complete dominion over his Christian subjects, and that was to mean in practice the right to murder and to rob,—although he was quite willing to make the usual virtuous promises, which no one except Palmerston even pretended to believe. There remained much simpler problems than had confronted the earlier congress. What should be done with the Black Sea and the Danube? These were the questions which the diplomats had to discuss during that single month of March, 1856. No territory changed hands except a little strip near the mouth of the Danube which was taken from defeated Russia and given to one of the two principalities which were to be united two years later into the modern kingdom of Roumania. England gained nothing at all, and Napoleon nothing but the glory of being host at the conference and helping to dictate from the seclusion of the Tuileries the terms of peace. Men might well ask, "Was it for this that so many hardships have been suffered and that 600,000 brave soldiers have died?"

The congress itself was much smaller and more definitely organized than the one which had met half a century before. This time the kings were not in evidence, but sent their servants to do the work for them. This fact in itself indicates a considerable development of the idea of the state as distinguished from its ruler. Six states were represented,

first and last, and their delegates came in two by two, like the animals into the ark. They sat in twelve arm-chairs around a table covered with green velvet, in the Hall of the Ambassadors, and met every other afternoon at three. There was a little side table for the secretaries. Etiquette was by this time definitely established. In international congresses the host acts as chairman and his colleague as secretary. Thus, if there should be a congress at Washington, the President would be the natural chairman, and the Secretary of State would be secretary, and the delegates would be arranged alphabetically, starting at the President's right hand, quite after the fashion of a formal dinner,—for example, Austria on his right and Brazil on his left, and so on. There is no chance for a modern Talleyrand to crowd into a good seat. This scheme is probably the best available in a jealous world, but might evidently be unjust to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The formal meetings were interspersed with festivities and celebrations. By a curious coincidence, the Prince Imperial was born during the sessions, and the delegates adjourned to file past the cradle. One records that he had blue eyes and that across his breast was placed the cordon of the Legion of Honor. Years later this boy was to die a tragic death in Zululand. But his birth seemed to the people of Paris a symbol of the peace which was to come, and they received the news with acclamations, for they hated "Plon-Plon," the Emperor's cousin, who was the heir apparent.

If we had dropped in on the meetings around the green velvet table, we must have thought that it was a dress rehearsal for a comic opera. Indeed, in this circus, as some one has remarked, the side show was really more interesting than the main tent, and some affairs of greater moment were settled in private interviews with the silent man in the Tuileries than

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in the Hall of the Ambassadors. For Napoleon was, after all, a man of real ability and of genuine ideals. It is noteworthy, by way of contrast with the next congress which shall meet, that four of the states were virtually absolute monarchies, and two were aristocracies. There was no representative of a democracy, for even in England and in Piedmont the suffrage was very limited. It was a curious fact that the only self-made man was the Turkish grand vizier. All the rest were nobles.

At the head of the table, presiding over the deliberations, sat Walewski, son of the great Napoleon and of a Polish countess. Born in 1810, he had been rescued from obscurity when his kinsman became emperor. Louis Napoleon evidently believed in the hereditary character of genius, and Walewski became the foreign minister of France. Napoleon always placed men in power whose fortunes were entirely bound with his and whom he could therefore count on. Somehow Walewski, a loud-talking, rattle-brained man, had escaped all traces of his great father's genius. He had a habit of getting started to prove some proposition, becoming lost in the flow of his own oratory, and ending by proving with the greatest emphasis the very thing which his opponent desired. We are told by one who was present that on these occasions his colleague Benedetti, who was secretary and sat across the table, would wait until the chairman was not looking, and then "raised his eyes to heaven, held his head in his hands, shrugged his shoulders, and uttered discreet sighs," as much as to say, "What can you expect?" It was well for France that nothing really vital was at stake.

Buol represented Austria. He had stopped on his way to Paris to tell Bismarck that Prussian interests would be safe in his hands. Bismarck summed him up, "If I could

be as great for a single hour as Buol thinks he is all the time, I should establish my glory forever before God and man." "To listen to Buol," Orloff, the bluff old Russian, remarked to Cavour, "you would suppose that Austria had taken Sevastopol." And so we might go on around that table. What a strange crowd, and what a pitiful world of human beings to leave the arrangement of their destinies to such men!

Only one man at that table is to-day remembered by the world. He had planned through the years to be present, and men had died to send him there. In the fact of that man's presence lay, unrevealed but real, the whole future destiny of Italy. Metternich, watching from his thoughtful retirement, said of him: "To-day there is one diplomat in Europe, and unfortunately he is against us." He too, like Talleyrand, had expected to play but a sorry part. Piedmont had made great sacrifices, and all depended on the skill with which this little, unimposing, bespectacled individual had read the character of the Emperor. Could he depend on the mixed idealism and fear of that adventurer? Would he have a chance to present the wrongs of Italy, so that they would blaze before the eyes of Europe and no one would dare to interfere when her great hour came? All this he had planned and hoped; and yet he feared. There is an astonishing similarity between the careers of Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna and of Cavour at the Congress of Paris. "It is possible," Cavour wrote to his colleague, "it is even probable that this mission will be the last act of my political life." When he went to Paris he was not even sure that the great powers would admit him to the congress. But they could not forget the sacrifices of Piedmont, and the two Italians arrived punctually to the minute at the first

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meeting. Clarendon now played the part of Castlereagh, and said to Cavour with the patronizing air of a great statesman to an amateur: "You have too much tact to take part in affairs which in no way concern you. You will be present at the discussion, and think of something else." One feels like asking, How intimately was England herself concerned in the destiny of the Black Sea? If Clarendon's test had been applied, all should have "thought of something else" except the Russians and the Turks. But it was a world of great powers, and the little fellows must not meddle.

Cavour assumed his rôle of modest and interested attention, and played it with consummate tact and skill. He had rare social ability and, except on one famous occasion, perfect self-control. He listened with profound admiration to the words which fell from the great men's lips, much as a newly admitted young partner in a firm might sit at his first meeting. To think that the one man of genius must remain silent at that table of chattering fools! And he doubtless thought of something else, as he had been ordered! He thought of glorious Venice groaning under a foreign yoke; he thought of Milan and of Florence, where once the world had gone to school, and of the brave men who had died to make them free; he thought of Imperial Rome and of the day when the City on the Seven Hills should once more be the capital of a great free people; he thought of Naples on her rounding bay, and of her noisome dungeons filled with untried prisoners. As he looked across the table at noisy Buol, he must have thought of Austria, whose soldiers were the cause of all these wrongs. And when the moment came he spoke in words which burned and seared, with all the restrained power of great eloquence. In spite of Buol's angry protests, the congress had committed itself to the

cause of Italy, and from that moment Italy was destined to be free. I wonder whether ever before or since one single speech has been staged so carefully, or has meant so much.

As for the rest, let us remember that the Black Sea was neutralized, both Russia and Turkey being forbidden to have either fleets upon its waters or forts upon its shores. This "negative servitude," as the lawyers call such provisions, was destined to last only until the first moment came when Russia could throw off its galling restriction. Kars, at the gate of Armenia, whose fall had shed a single ray of lustre on the Russian arms, was given back to the Turk, to use in his own bloody and nefarious way. The three great powers guaranteed the sovereignty and independence of both Sweden and Turkey, which might be threatened by Russia, and the great river Danube was neutralized and opened to the traffic of the world, under an international commission. The beneficent provisions of this idea lasted until the present war. Above all, certain general rules, called the Declaration of Paris, were adopted which were to protect neutral commerce in time of war. Neutral goods were to be safe on enemy ships, except contraband of war; and, conversely, even enemy goods were to be safe on neutral ships. Privateering was abolished, and the rule was laid down that no blockade should be legal unless it actually prevented access to the enemy coast. These are the first international provisions dealing with the freedom of the seas, and are memorable for that reason, though they have been honored so much more in the breach than the observance, and have failed so completely to safeguard neutral rights in the present war. They were expected to make neutral property at sea safe in time of war. To-day the world seems to have taken a step back, and the issue is not whether property can

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be made safe, but whether the most fundamental of rights can be defended, and the lives of non-combatant men, women, and children guarded against sudden and treacherous attack on the broad, uncharted highways of the sea.

The treaty of Paris was signed on the thirtieth of March, 1856, and the congress adjourned amid the ringing bells and the plaudits of a happy people.

III

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

THE years which lay between the Congress of Paris and the Congress of Berlin were more crowded with great events than any twenty years in the history of the world. The two ideas of democracy and nationality had gone hand in hand during the middle years of the century. To men like Metternich they had seemed the inseparable and baneful product of the revolution. They had been glorified together, by Mazzini and Garibaldi and the men of 1848, under the name of liberty. The members of the Parliament of Frankfort of 1850 had believed in their unity, and had dreamed of an empire which was to rest upon them as upon twin foundations. But Frederick William, under the pressure of Austria and Russia, had refused a crown which was to belong to him, not "by the grace of God," but "by the will of the people," and men who hated both political and economic democracy were to seize the idea of nationality and to use it as a weapon. Kossuth and Andrassy had shown that the two ideas were not necessarily consistent when they had used the fervor of the February revolution, not so much to secure popular rights and privileges for the people of Hungary, as to increase the relative power and influence of the Magyars at the expense of the Slavs who lived with them in the valley of the middle Danube. The separation had been made complete by Bismarck, who was as patriotic as Mazzini and as reactionary as Metternich. He was at once the

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heir of the liberals of 1848, and of the conservative forces which had destroyed them.

The political thought of the age had been profoundly though unconsciously affected by the idea of the survival of the fittest, which it took from its biological setting and gave a social significance. Evolution seemed a blind force which always worked through struggle and never through what has since come to be called "mutual aid." When pressed to define "the fittest," the age would have answered, "Those that survive," without realizing either the shallowness of the answer or the circle in the reasoning. It was a frank gospel of salvation to the strong and of damnation to the weak, because weakness is the self-evident proof of unfitness. Herbert Spencer was to be regarded as a profound thinker whose influence was to reappear in a positive way in Nietzsche, and negatively and more popularly in Omar Khayyam. The notions of a common humanity whose needs and aspirations must be considered, of popular rights, of international justice or morality, seemed now mere sentiment and cant. Organized efficiency within the nation, imperialism in international relations, were to be the frank outward expression of subtle and profound changes in the religious and social thought of men. Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, The White Man's Burden, were to be the new cloaks for the same old selfishness and greed which had once paraded under other names; and in the name of the liberal notion of nationality, national interests were to be disregarded and popular liberties suppressed.

The Europe which turned its eyes to Berlin was a very different Europe from that which had breathed a profound sigh of relief at the end of the Crimean war. Italy had then been a hope and Germany scarcely more than an aspiration. Now Italy had gained her freedom, not as the result of any

great popular rising as Mazzini had hoped, but by the aid of foreign soldiers. Whatever gratitude she had first felt for France was dimmed and almost destroyed when Napoleon had secured first the hand of the Princess Clotilde for his cousin, and had later gained his pound of flesh in Savoy and Nice. Well might Garibaldi fulminate against the bargain which made him a man without a country, but Cavour answered that "statesmanship is the ability to discern the possible." The great Italian had died with Venice still unredeemed, and with Rome protected by the bayonets of France. The final and complete unification of Italy was to be the work, not of Napoleon or of Cavour, but of Bismarck, as a by-product of his struggle against Austria.

After the death of Cavour, the career of Bismarck was, indeed, "the history of Europe." Under him the Prussian army had been strengthened, even against the will of the Assembly, and that army had been used in three successful wars. First Denmark had been beaten and compelled to give up Schleswig-Holstein; then Austria had succumbed to the well-trained soldiers of Von Moltke, and Hanover, which since the Congress of Vienna had virtually cut Prussia off from any direct access to the sea, was swallowed bodily; and then, at length, Prussia was strong enough to fight France for Alsace and Lorraine, with their rich valleys and almost priceless coal-fields. The great indemnity of five billions of francs which the defeated country had to pay for the privilege of being beaten was at once the symbol of the completeness of the victory and the foundation of great national enterprises for Germany. In all former wars the victor had been content with either land or money. In this he demanded both, and the gains which were made so easily in 1871 became the temptation which seems the fundamental cause of the present war. In money alone Germany had

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gained much more than she had spent. War seemed at once glorious and lucrative. Above all, the three southern states, which had held aloof at first, were now willing to come into the new empire, and William was proclaimed emperor in the throne-room of the French kings at Versailles. Practically from the same moment date the Third Republic in France, which rose from the ashes of the war, and the United Kingdom of Italy, with its capital at Rome. The dream of the dead Cavour was now fulfilled.

It seems entirely probable that the influence of impersonal economic forces would have brought about the unification of Germany in the course of time, without any wars at all. Maïssen with his Zollverein, rather than Bismarck, was the real architect of the empire. Railroads, racial likeness, trade, were the fundamental bonds rather than the armies of Von Moltke. But Bismarck had undoubtedly hastened the process and very profoundly modified the spirit of the new empire. In that sense he might well regard himself as the father of his country.

When he was an old man, Bismarck grew reminiscent and gave to the world the two volumes of his "Reflections and Reminiscences," which proved almost as embarrassing to the Foreign Office at Berlin as the more recent reminiscences of Prince Lichnowsky. As a historical source, this book is very hard to use. There are constant veiled allusions to secret transactions which will not be fully known until the archives of the various European capitals are opened to inspection. It is, also, almost impossible to tell just where the reminiscences change into reflections of a later day. But as a mirror in which a great modern Machiavelli reveals his political opinions and motives, and as a study in diplomacy these memoirs have unrivalled interest. No one else can ever write a character sketch of the great German that may

compete with the one which he himself has written. At once his strength and his weakness lay in the fact that he could act with one single aim constantly in mind. That aim was to secure the greatness and the strength of Germany. He is the supreme embodiment of the idea of nationality at the moment when it was changing into the newer idea of imperialism. The nation must be not only strong itself, but also stronger and more powerful than any rival or combination of rivals. The petty scruples which other men felt or professed to feel, this new Jove was able to tear aside like clouds which dimmed his vision of the world. He reckoned with democracy, but did not fear it, as his predecessor Metternich had done; for he thought that the people would always accept national power and efficiency as worthy substitutes for what they thought was liberty. He introduced universal suffrage in the choice of the Reichstag, though he regarded it as a necessary evil. "I had no hesitation whatever in throwing into the frying-pan . . . the most powerful ingredient known at that time to liberty-mongers, namely, universal suffrage, so as to frighten off foreign monarchies from trying to stick a finger into our national omelette. I never doubted that the German people would be strong and clever enough to free themselves from the existing suffrage as soon as they realized that it was a harmful institution."

In diplomacy his masterpiece was the device by which he brought on the war with France at the very moment when he was best ready for it. He managed to do this in such a way that it seemed to many that France was herself the aggressor. Until the publication of his own memoirs such a notion existed widely. All doubts on the subject were cleared up when Bismarck told the story of his achievement, with all the father's pride over this child of his imagination. Let us hope that some day either Bethmann-Hollweg or William

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may be equally reminiscent. Bismarck tells us that at the beginning of his career, "I took it as assured that war with France would necessarily have to be waged on the road to our further national development, . . . and that we must keep this eventuality in sight in all our domestic as well as in our foreign relations." He did keep this plan in mind through all the intervening years. Finally the throne of Spain became vacant, and Bismarck secretly worked to have a Hohenzollern prince chosen for the place. France felt that she was threatened from the south, and naturally protested. Under the influence of the Empress, she even went farther and foolishly asked a pledge that Germany should never in the future attempt to control the throne of Spain. Bismarck was delighted. War seemed about to come, and Prussia was ready. A sharp refusal to the request of France was all that was necessary to make that state seem the aggressor. But William did not want to take the risk and was really anxious for peace. He answered the French ambassador in a courteous note which would have made war impossible. This letter was the so-called Ems despatch, which was not given to the world until after the revelations of Bismarck made it necessary.

There is a wonderful picture in the "Reminiscences," subject for some future painter. He might call it, "The Founding of the German Empire." Bismarck, Von Roon, the minister of war, and Moltke were sitting waiting for the news. The king's pacific telegram was handed to Bismarck. He read it out to his two guests, whose dejection was so great that they turned away from food and drink. Bismarck seemed to think that this indicated very deep sorrow. But as the chancellor looked at the words with practised eye, he thought he saw a gleam of light. "I put a few questions to Moltke as to the extent of his confidence in the state of

our preparations." The general answered that everything was ready. "Under this conviction," Bismarck continues, "I made use of the royal authorization . . . to publish the contents of the telegram; and in the presence of my two guests, I reduced the telegram by striking out words, but without adding or altering. . . . After I had read out the concentrated edition to my two guests, Moltke remarked: 'Now it has a different ring; it sounded before like a parley; now it is like a flourish in answer to a challenge.' I went on to explain: 'If, in execution of his Majesty's order, I at once communicate this text . . . not only to the newspapers, but also by telegraph to all our embassies, it will be known in Paris before midnight, and, not only on account of its contents, but also on account of the manner of its distribution, will have the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull. Fight we must if we do not want to act the part of the vanquished without a battle. . . . It is important that we should be the party attacked.' This explanation brought about in the two generals a revulsion to a more joyous mood, the liveliness of which surprised me. They had suddenly recovered their pleasure in eating and drinking and spoke in a more cheerful vein. Roon said, 'Our God of old still lives and will not let us perish in disgrace.' Moltke so far relinquished his passive equanimity, that, glancing up joyously to the ceiling and abandoning his usual punctiliousness of speech, he smote his hand upon his breast and said: 'If I may but live to lead our armies into such a war, then the devil may come directly afterwards and fetch away the old carcass.' He was less robust at that time than afterwards, and doubted whether he should survive the hardships of the campaign." So, having called upon both God and the devil, this famous party adjourned. It had changed the history of the world.

At the end of the war Moltke summed up the situation in

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a prophetic sentence: "We have earned in the late war respect, but hardly love. What we have gained by arms in six months, we shall have to defend by arms for fifty years."

With France defeated, it was necessary for Bismarck to consolidate his gains. He foresaw a great struggle between what he called the system of order on a monarchical basis and the social republic to which that principle might be reduced. He considered the establishment of strong royal institutions on permanent foundations in Germany, Russia, and Austria more important than any rivalry "over the fragments of nations which inhabit the Balkan peninsula." In comparison with the safety and the strength of the great monarchies, it seemed to him that "all the Balkans were not worth one Pomeranian grenadier." France was hopelessly given over to idols, and he would let her alone. He favored the establishment of a republic there, because he thought that the end of the experiment would be an anarchy entirely favorable to Germany. Her friendship he could never hope to secure. Her weakness would be the best safeguard. Austria, too, had been defeated and one might expect at first sight that she also would be an irreconcilable enemy. But she feared internal troubles even more than she hated her conquerors, whose terms, by the foresight of Bismarck, had been generous. She had been displaced in Germany, but she had paid no indemnity and had lost no territory. Her wounds, unlike those of France, were healing without a scar. There had arisen in Austria a statesman of great ability in the person of Julius Andrassy. Andrassy was a Hungarian who had been exiled for his part in the defeated revolution of 1848. He had been allowed to return after ten years in Paris, had gained the ear of Francis Joseph, and after the terrible defeat of the Austrian armies in Bohemia he had written and secured the adoption of the

present remarkable constitution of the dual monarchy, which distributes the national power between the Magyars and the Germans, to the practical exclusion of the Slavic elements in the population. Andrassy constantly argued that the future of Austria lay in the East, and that her expulsion from Italy and Germany had been real blessings in disguise.

Under these circumstances the three emperors met in Berlin the year after the defeat of France, and made an informal league in which they agreed to work together to repress the revolutionary movements in Europe, to maintain the new conquests of Germany, and to settle the problems which might arise in the Balkans.

Bismarck saw at once the weak point in this agreement. The three emperors were at one in their common fear of Socialism and Revolution; they might even help him to hold Alsace and Lorraine. But the Russian and the Austrian could not both dominate the Balkans at the same time. It never occurred to any one that the course of true statesmanship, in the long run, would be to leave the Balkans to their own peoples without any outside domination. Did the Iron Chancellor really expect to be able to drive this strange and unruly team in safety over the rough road of imperial rivalry? Was the league hollow from the very beginning, and had Bismarck already chosen one of the partners for his especial favor? These are questions which we cannot answer. But it is now well known that in 1875, at the time of the mysterious war scare of that year, and again twice in 1876, when Alexander was seeking the assurance of a free hand against Turkey, Bismarck offered support to Russia in return for a guarantee of Alsace and Lorraine. Russia was virtually told that she might have the aid of Prussia if she would consent to abandon France.

Did Bismarck intend these offers sincerely? Did he ever

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expect them to be considered or accepted, even at the cost of Austria? One would be bold, indeed, to answer at all dogmatically. But it seems very probable that he expected Alexander to refuse, at least when the offer was repeated the second and the third time. He wanted the friendship of both Austria and Russia, but when he had to choose, he definitely and very early chose Austria. William was always sincerely friendly to Russia. He had meant what he said when he had written to Alexander after the war with France: "Prussia will never forget that she owes it to you that the war did not assume the most extreme dimensions. May God bless you for it!" Bismarck needed to prove to his master, and perhaps even to himself, that the friendship of Russia was a broken reed. Russia would never allow France to be completely crushed. And so, in 1877, Bismarck allowed it to be known that Prussia would fight on the side of Austria if necessary. From that moment, at least, the so-called League of the Three Emperors was a hollow sham which needed nothing but a sharp crisis to sweep it away. It rested on nothing more substantial than the personal friendship of two monarchs. The chancellor had taken the Czar of all the Russias on an imperial snipe-hunt and left him holding the sack. This is the real key to the policy of Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin.¹

Why did Bismarck choose Austria instead of Russia for his ally? He recognized the potential power of a great empire like Russia. He felt genuine sympathy for her absolute government. The two states had a common interest in their respective shares of dismembered Poland. But, in spite of the possible friction on account of the religious question, there were more points of contact with Austria. The

¹ For a recent and somewhat different interpretation, see Coolidge, "The Origins of the Triple Alliance."

dominant part of the Austrian population was German, and would be bound to Germany by the strong bonds of kinship and of language. In Hungary, Bismarck could count on the Magyars even more certainly, on account of their fear of the Slavs by whom they were surrounded. The alliance with Russia depended too much on a single pair of eyes; it was as uncertain as the changing moods of the Czar. With prophetic insight, Bismarck foresaw the dangerous instability of that alliance, and so finally chose Austria. Events seem to have proved the wisdom of the choice. It was in this connection that he said: "All contracts between great states cease to be unconditionally binding as soon as they are tested by the struggle for existence." When he went to Vienna to make the formal alliance with Austria, he was received with great enthusiasm by the crowds, and felt that the German sympathies, of the Austrians "had been overlaid but not extinguished by the débris deposited by the struggles of the past" (1879).

At the time of which we are speaking, just before the outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey, a very remarkable old man of seventy had just achieved the ambition for which he had worked since he was a youth of twenty-two. Benjamin Disraeli had become at last the prime minister of England. The rise of Disraeli to power illustrates one of the fundamental weaknesses of the parliamentary form of government. Modern constitutional governments are of one of two kinds. They are either Presidential, like that of the United States, in which the executive holds office directly from the people for a given term of years, or Parliamentary, in which the executive power is entrusted to a committee of the Legislature for an indefinite length of time. In ordinary times the committee scheme works well enough, and certainly has the advantage of flexibility. There is small chance

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for a dictatorship. But in times of emergency there is almost always friction and waste of time and energy. Men are debating when they should be acting, and the constant necessity of appealing to Parliament tends to bring to power men who are first of all great debaters and clever parliamentary tacticians. Especially before the days of the last Reform Bill, a man might easily dominate the House of Commons without really understanding either his own country or the affairs of Europe. The appeal which will win the ear of the House is not necessarily the broad, generous appeal which will be sanctioned by the people.

Disraeli understood the House individually and collectively better, perhaps, than any man since Chatham. A keen observer has said that he "played upon it as he would have played upon a musical instrument, and it answered to his touch." When he appeared for his first speech he was described as attired in "a bottle-green frock coat and a vest of white, the front of which exhibited a network of glittering chains; large fancy pattern pantaloons, and a black tie, above which no shirt collar was visible." His face was very pale, in sharp contrast to his coal-black eyes. His forehead was broad and low, overhung with clustering ringlets of coal-black hair. The fastidious House received this strange speaker with shouts of laughter. At last he paused in the midst of a sentence, and looking indignantly at his opponents, raised his hands and shouted, "I have begun several times many things, and I have often succeeded at last; ay, sir, and though I sit down now, the time will come when you will hear me." And the time did come. Disraeli could sit for hours listening to the most bitter denunciation of himself and his policies without a change in a muscle of his face, showing only by an occasional gleam of his half-shut eyes that he heard what was said. O'Connell once called him "a

miscreant, a wretch, a liar whose life is a living lie; the heir at law of the blasphemous thief who died impenitent on the cross!" But the House came to admire a man who could meet such blows without wincing. The instinct of fair play, admiration for his astonishing cleverness in debate, the tendency to appraise a man at his own valuation, had much to do with Disraeli's rise to power.

The very frankness of his cynicism, the mere honesty of his ambitions, had in them a certain refreshing quality. On one occasion he said to John Bright as the two took their umbrellas in the cloak-room, "After all, what is it that brings you and me here? Fame! I might have occupied a literary throne, but I have renounced it for this career. This is the true arena."¹ And in his quest for fame, he knew how to be generous to his friends and dangerous to his enemies. He had at once the aloofness and the supreme courage and perseverance of his race. Men always admire a man who does not fear them, and who rises supreme above all obstacles to the place which he has chosen for himself, who meets contempt with still deeper contempt, and who looks disaster in the face with a smile. Such a man was Benjamin Disraeli.

Like Chatham, Disraeli was always something of an actor. In one of his novels he represents the hero explaining to his father why he had left college: "Because they taught me words, and I wished to learn ideas." The father answers with worldly wisdom, "Few ideas are correct ones, and what are correct no one can ascertain, but with words we govern men." Disraeli always acted on this principle, and used words to conceal his meaning. In one speech, when hard pressed by a questioner, he said that he was "in favor of popular privileges, but opposed to democratic rights."

¹ Bryce, "Biographical Studies," p. 30.

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After his return from the Congress of Berlin, which had torn away some of the richest provinces of the Turkish empire, he said that the purpose of the powers had been "not dismemberment, but consolidation." But when the Greeks tried the same sovereign method of "consolidation" for the growing ills of Turkey, Disraeli saw to it that they were compelled to stop in their purpose of conquest.

He became the leader of his party at the time when Peel accepted the doctrine of free trade, "stealing the clothes of the Liberals when they were in bathing," as Disraeli said. Later he had done much the same thing himself when he became the sponsor of the Reform Bill of 1867, which the Liberals had long been urging without success. This bill gave the suffrage to the workingmen in the cities. Many thought that it sounded the knell of the Conservative party. But the Tory leader saw, with characteristic shrewdness, that if a reform bill had to be passed, it was better to be the victor than the defeated party. The workingmen could be held by constant appeals to their patriotism.

At last the supreme political opportunity came when Gladstone pursued a peaceful policy in foreign affairs. The Liberal prime minister submitted the *Alabama* controversy to arbitration, much to the disgust of the Tories; and when the court decided the case against England and imposed a penalty of \$15,000,000, he defended his action in words which are still memorable: "Although I may think the sentence was harsh in its extent and unjust in its basis, I regard the fine imposed on this country as dust in the balance compared with the moral value of the example set when these two great nations of England and America went in peace and concord before a judicial tribunal rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword." But for the moment passions were inflamed, and the English people were disappointed,

and Disraeli became prime minister in 1874 on a platform in which he promised to uphold the ancient monarchy of England, to elevate the social condition of the people, and above all to maintain the empire. It does sometimes seem, as Disraeli had said, that men are governed by words. The new government was sure to have what is called a strong foreign policy.

The prime minister had been especially interested in the East ever since he had travelled in the eastern Mediterranean as a young man. He loved to speak of England as an Asiatic power. He had a genuine and often expressed admiration for the Turks, as was only natural since their treatment of the Jews had been better than of any other of the subject races, and since their treatment by Russia has always been a blot on the Russian name. He had no real knowledge of conditions in southeastern Europe, where the Christian populations were suffering under the most oppressive tyranny, with heavy taxes and no semblance of personal or religious liberty. The prime minister always posed as a wizard whose statements concealed some weighty plan which he was not quite at liberty to disclose. He wished to be thought inscrutable. Beneath his picture at the Conservative Club was written the line of Homer, "He alone is wise; all the rest are fleeting shadows." He loved dramatic surprises, and understood their political value. The year after his accession, a lucky chance gave him the very opportunity which he needed. The Suez Canal had been completed in 1869—by a curious coincidence, the same year with the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States. It had been built under a hundred-year concession to a French company, and the Khedive of Egypt had received 176,000 of the 400,000 shares as his reward. Egypt had prospered as long as the war lasted in the United States.

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She had sold her cotton at fabulous prices, and the rich planters in the valley of the Nile had even been able to afford expensive and beautiful Abyssinian and Circassian wives. The debt of the little state had risen thirty times in five years, for the Khedive thought that the good times would last forever. Then the war had ended, and within ten years Egypt had lost her cotton business and was at the doors of bankruptcy. One realizes how closely connected are all historical events when we think that the English possession of the Suez Canal and of Egypt is a by-product of the American Civil War. An enterprising English newspaperman learned that the ruler of Egypt was about to sell his shares to the French. He came one night to Lord Derby, foreign minister in the cabinet of Disraeli, and urged him to buy them for England. It was a startling suggestion to the cautious Derby. Parliament was not in session. No money had been appropriated for such a purpose. But he promised to take the matter up with the prime minister. Disraeli telegraphed at once and asked the consul at Cairo to inquire directly whether the shares were in the market. The Khedive answered, "Yes." Disraeli secured the necessary money from an English banker, and before night the bargain was completed. When Parliament met he could announce that England had acquired a controlling interest in the Suez Canal for £4,000,000 sterling. To-day those shares are paying twenty-five per cent. on the original investment, and are quoted at £30,000,000, but of course they are really priceless.

Only two other men could ever claim to have picked up such bargains at the remnant counter of the world. The first was Livingston, into whose feeble hands Napoleon thrust the half-welcome Louisiana, with its area of boundless wealth, for \$15,000,000; and the second was Seward, to whom Alexander of Russia had just sold Alaska for the

paltry sum of \$7,200,000. The mystery man had proved a wizard.

His next move was equally characteristic. On January 1, 1877, Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, amid booming cannon and shouting crowds at a great durbar in the city of a hundred kings, under the massive walls of imperial Delhi. But imperialism has its gloomy side, and famine was at that moment stalking on her grim business among the villages of the land of the five rivers. To a starving people all the pomp of Delhi seemed only a pale and hollow sham.

In Europe the eyes of men were on the Balkans. Fierce revolt against intolerable misrule had blazed up slowly in Bosnia, at the extreme west of the dominions of the Sultan. Did Bismarck and Andrassy, or did the Pan-Slavists of Moscow, have anything directly to do with the revolt? We shall not know until the archives are fully opened. In any case, there was reason enough for the revolt without any outside assistance, and it might be made to serve either Austria or Russia, and perhaps, for the moment, both. The powers listened to the appeals which came to them out of the East and made half-hearted efforts to secure a measure of redress for the oppressed peoples of the Balkans. First came the Andrassy note, in which all the powers joined; then a note from the three emperors at Berlin, which the British Government refused to support. The threat of Europe was that if the Sultan refused to come to terms they would deliberate again. The result was what one might expect. The Sultan, encouraged by the attitude of the powers, and remembering especially the very present help in time of trouble which had come to him in the days of the Crimean war, assumed more and more an air of injured innocence. Especially after a palace revolution had driven the weak Abdul Aziz from the

throne to suicide, and when the imbecile boy Murad was in turn succeeded by his utterly cruel brother, Abdul Hamid, the chances for any internal reform were clearly gone, though Disraeli would not believe it. Then Servia and Montenegro declared war and fought with the greatest courage under a Russian general. But the odds were too great, and they were beaten hopelessly, and saved from annihilation only by the action of the powers.

One spring morning in 1876, the papers published a story of terrible atrocities among the villages of Bulgaria. The Turk was protecting his flank against any sudden attack. And he was doing it with almost modern thoroughness and efficiency. This was the despatch which the people of the world read over their coffee that morning: "In Constantinople nobody hesitates to believe that many thousands of innocent men, women, and children have been slaughtered; that at least sixty villages have been utterly destroyed; that the most terrible acts of violence have been committed; and that a district among the most fertile in Europe has been ruined for many years to come." The villagers had been invited to give up their arms on promise of immunity, and had then been slaughtered in cold blood. Twelve hundred had been burned to death in one church. It was a great massacre,—not Abdul Hamid's masterpiece, for in the Armenian massacres of 1896 the most conservative accounts place the deaths at 100,000, but still, so near to a critical Europe, quite satisfactory for the purpose in hand. Disraeli was politely incredulous, even after the worst details had been confirmed by his own agents. He labelled all this talk, "Coffee-house babble," and said on the floor of the House, in answer to a question, that the stories could not be true. He knew the East, and Eastern people did not torture their victims. They used more expeditious means. He was evidently pleased at the laugh which this sally brought out.

Sir Henry Elliot, the British ambassador at Constantinople, telegraphed: "British interests are not concerned in the question whether ten or twenty thousand perished in the insurrection."

But this was not the heart of England speaking. I believe it is always true that if secret diplomacy could be abolished, and the essential truth in any international situation could be presented fairly to any great people without deception, they would always answer for the generous policy, against the narrow claims of self-interest. The difficulty is to avoid deception, and to keep the subject before them until they can express their will in action. At least it was so in this case. Gladstone emerged from his literary retirement with his "Bulgarian Pamphlet," which fired the heart of the common people of England and made it impossible for the cabinet to intervene at once in favor of Turkey against Russia, as they had done at the time of the Crimean war. He addressed great crowds everywhere. The historian Freeman expressed the liberal thought of the country when he said, "Perish the interests of England, perish our dominion in India, sooner than that we should strike one blow or speak one word on behalf of the wrong against the right." Gladstone knew that he would be voted down in the House of Commons, that even some of his own party were against him, "but he looked beyond unity to principle, and beyond the House of Commons to the nation." He presented resolutions in which he declared that Turkey had lost her right of assistance, moral or material; he pronounced for local self-government in the disturbed provinces, and urged the imposition of guarantees by the Concert of Europe. Gladstone's speech in defence of these resolutions was probably the climax of a great career.¹ His opponents had used dilatory tactics, so that he did not manage to secure the floor until seven

¹ Morley's "Gladstone," II, 566.

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in the evening. He rose to speak before a listless House whose members were streaming out to dinner. But he held them and moved them, and what was more, he gained the ear of the country, so that any repetition of the blunders of the Crimean war was now impossible. The old man was now sixty-eight, but he spoke for two hours and a half with undiminished vigor: "Sir, there were other days when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high aspiration was entertained, or a noble blow was struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned. . . . You talk to me of the established tradition and policy in regard to Turkey. I appeal to an established tradition older, wider, nobler far—a tradition not which disregards British interests, but which teaches you to seek the promotion of these interests in obeying the dictates of honor and justice." He went on to describe in passionate but restrained language the wrongs against which he was protesting. "I believe, for one, that the knell of Turkish tyranny in these provinces has sounded. . . . The destruction may not come in the way or by the means that we should choose; but come this boon from what hands it may, it will be a noble boon, and as a noble boon will gladly be accepted by Christendom and the world." The twelve thousand Bulgarian peasants who had died defenceless in their villages had unwittingly performed a greater task for their country than if they had died armed upon the field of battle. Even Disraeli could not quite laugh Gladstone down when he called him "a sophistical rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity."

The Bulgarian massacres had made war between Russia and Turkey practically inevitable, though events moved slowly, and it was clear that Alexander did not want the war and would have been perfectly satisfied if the powers had

taken from his shoulders the task of improving the conditions in Turkey. He remembered well the results of the Crimean war, and he knew that Russia was no more ready now than then. Her financial condition was alarming, and with each new conquest in Central Asia her deficits increased. She had sold Alaska for this reason and because she feared that it might fall into the hands of England. Her army had been reorganized two years before by the adoption of the system of universal military service, but it was too early yet to reap the fruits of this change. Above all, Austria was watching from the heights of the Carpathians, and the British fleet was near the mouth of the Dardanelles. But the pressure of the Russian people, and his own sympathies, were too strong to permit a policy of inaction in the face of almost certain continuation of the massacres. He sought an interview with Francis Joseph, and promised not to oppose him in his evident desire for Bosnia. He gave his word of honor to the English minister that he would not seize Constantinople. He made an agreement which was virtually an alliance with Roumania. And then he waited with remarkable patience for the result of the conference of the powers which had been called to meet in Constantinople. The Sultan promised to introduce a parliament into the government of Turkey, and one actually met with all the usual features except the important one of an opposition. Abdul Hamid expressed surprise that the powers did not recognize "the principles of equality and justice which the imperial government was seeking to introduce into its internal administration." It was evident that all hope of a peaceful solution was at an end, and the soldiers of Russia moved south across Roumania on what has been rightly called the most just and necessary war of the nineteenth century.

Again, as in the previous war, the peasant soldiers fought

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with supreme courage and devotion. There can be no question that they saw in the Bulgarian peasants brothers whom they were sent to save. For once the other nations of the Balkans laid aside their petty jealousies, and the Servians reëntered the war and rendered valiant service side by side with the Russians and the Roumanians. The Russians crossed the Danube at Sistova. Their commander stood on an island in the river watching them as they stormed the lofty southern bank. Skobeleff, the hero of the Russian advance into Central Asia, stood beside him as he peered out through the mist of the early morning. "I congratulate you on your victory," he said to Dragomiroff. "Where do you see that?" asked Dragomiroff. "Where? On the faces of your soldiers. Watch them as they charge the enemy!"¹ But, in spite of courage, the war was long and costly, and proved again the complete inefficiency of the administrative system of the Russian Empire. At length Plevna had yielded to Todleben, the hero of Sevastopol, and the Russian cavalry swept down through the passes of the lofty Balkans on Adrianople, just as the soldiers of Nicholas had done fifty years before. With the fall of Plevna, Disraeli's fears for Constantinople were redoubled. But England had no soldiers at hand. "How long will it take to reach Adrianople?" he asked his military adviser. "About four weeks," was the answer. "Give me six and I can do something." As it was, the English fleet sailed into the Sea of Marmora as the Russian soldiers approached the walls of the long-coveted city. Bismarck said the world was likely to see a war between a whale and an elephant.

The Czar imposed peace upon the beaten Sultan under the walls of his capital. This was the famous treaty of San Stefano, which has been called the wisest plan for the solu-

¹ Rose, "The Development of European Nations," p. 234.

tion of the Eastern Question that has ever been devised. The Sultan agreed to make Bulgaria an independent state which should stretch from the Black Sea to the boundaries of Albania, and from the Danube to the Ægean. Servia was to be given the districts of Nish and Novibazar, and little Montenegro was to have a port on the Adriatic. Russia was to have an indemnity and to annex the regions in Armenia which she had conquered from the Turks. There was only one serious injustice in the treaty—that Roumania was to give up to Russia the desirable land which she held north of the Danube and accept instead the marshy and undesirable Dobrudja. This was poor return for valiant aid. The Servian ambitions were also sacrificed to the necessity of giving unwilling Bosnia to the undeserving Austrian. The other arrangements of the treaty were based on the best information then available, and seemed likely to secure as just and abiding a peace as could reasonably be hoped.

Austria and England immediately objected, fearing too great Russian influence in the Balkans, and a congress of the powers was called to meet at Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck, to reconsider the terms of the treaty. The Congress of Berlin met, therefore, to compel the victorious power to yield the fruit of victory to outsiders who had had no part in the contest. In that respect it was different from any congress in the history of the world, and was the high-water mark of the Concert of Nations. It suggests the extent to which a united world may succeed against any single member. In this case, it is true, the common bond was certainly one of organized selfishness. In some later congress we may hope that the same method may be used for wiser and more generous purposes.

In contrast with the previous congress, each of the states was represented by its ablest men. There may have been an

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exception in the case of Turkey, which was represented, at least according to Bismarck, "by an imbecile, a renegade, and a Greek," but that made little difference, for even the ablest diplomacy would scarcely have served to save her from her friends. Herbert Paul has said that "if Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, had been the envoy of the Sultan instead of the Queen, he would have deserved a gold statue for his labors at Berlin." But to dismembered Turkey even this praise would doubtless seem too generous. The chief representative of Russia was the aged Gortchakoff, now more than eighty years of age, who had to be carried in to the sittings of the congress, but whose mental vigor was unimpaired. His former friendship with Bismarck had changed to hatred when Russia had averted the possibility of a great war in 1875, and Gortchakoff had claimed all the credit in the famous message, "Peace is now assured." Andrassy, the Hungarian, was a striking figure, with his coal-black hair and eyes, set off by a scarlet uniform. He spent his leisure time at Berlin in driving a hard bargain with little Serbia, which practically delivered the railroads of that country into the hands of Austria.

In this congress there was little of social pomp, and it is said that the people of Berlin scarcely knew that anything unusual was going on. The meetings were businesslike sessions in which Bismarck, whose health was none too good, pushed matters along as rapidly as possible. His brusqueness, good humor, and rough tact helped to soften the differences which arose, or else to sweep them aside. He tells us that he had to drink a jug of port before the meetings to keep himself alert, and the other members did not hesitate to take advantage of the famous hospitality of his buffet.

Most of these heated discussions were sham battles, for Disraeli came to the congress armed with three secret agree-

ments which really settled all the essential points at issue in his favor. He had one with Russia, in which that reluctant power had agreed to the division of Bulgaria into three parts, Macedonia to be left to the tender mercies of the Sultan. He had another with Turkey, in which that state promised to reward the services of England by the cession of Cyprus and by accepting England as the protector of her Asiatic territory. He also had one with Austria, in which he agreed to let her take Bosnia, for Beaconsfield did not realize that he was building up a new rival to replace the old. With these three papers in his pocket, it is perfectly plain that the astute old gentleman was playing with loaded dice; but he was enough of an actor to keep up the appearance of the greatest fervor over questions which he knew perfectly well were already settled. On one occasion he even ordered a special train to be in readiness to take him away if he did not gain a really unimportant point for which he was contending. He had an eye always upon the crowds at home and the necessity of making them feel that he was winning famous diplomatic victories. He had one moment of embarrassment, for a dishonest clerk carried his agreement with Turkey, which ceded Cyprus to England, to one of the newspapers, and it was published just before a great reception for the congress. Disraeli arrived late at the reception, and passed from group to group with the same inscrutable expression. The various diplomats were very angry, especially the Russians, who felt that they had been duped. A Russian princess finally had the courage to ask, "What are you thinking about, my lord?" (All the rest were thinking of Cyprus.) "Madam," answered the old man, with a courtly bow, "I am not thinking of anything; I am enjoying myself."¹

¹ Princess Radziwill, "My Recollections," p. 149.

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"Punch" represented the English prime minister in those days, "arriving with a large military escort, keeping an iron-clad on the Spree, attending with cocked hat, brass band, and revolvers, entering singing, 'We don't want to fight, but by jingo, if we do,' drawing caricatures of the Emperor of Russia on the blotting-paper, and waving the Union Jack continually over the head of the President."¹ And, spiritually, there was a certain degree of truth in these pictures; but, outwardly, Beaconsfield was a master of diplomacy. Those who were there agree that he spoke seldom and always to the point, knew what he wanted, and never wavered even when his demands led straight to war. Bismarck said with his usual bluntness, "Der alte Jude, das ist der mann!"² There was real spiritual kinship between those two remarkable old men.

What was going on behind the scenes of this assembly? It is very probable that whatever it was counted fully as much in the final result as anything which took place at the more formal meetings around Bismarck's table. It is at least certain that a great deal of generosity was displayed in offering other people's property. It was Bismarck's evident policy to sow as much discord as possible among all his potential rivals. He certainly joined with Salisbury in urging France to seize Tunis, greatly coveted by Italy, thereby laying sure foundations for the future Triple Alliance. In the same spirit, he urged England to proceed with the occupation of Egypt, a step which would certainly cause friction with France, thereby isolating his chief enemy from her two possible friends, Italy and England. Salisbury probably suggested to Italy the step which was accomplished only

¹ Lord, "The Congress of Berlin," p. 55.

² Bryce, "Biographical Studies," p. 54.

yesterday, the occupation of Tripoli. When Disraeli addressed the waiting crowds from the window of Whitehall on his return to London, he told them, in famous though borrowed phrase, that he was bringing them "Peace, with honor"! It seems that he might better have summed up the spirit of the assembly in which he had played so prominent a part if he had said that he brought them "Peace, with Cyprus"!

What shall we say of the final results of this congress of great men? The affairs of the Balkans and of the East might be settled in either of two ways, to meet the immediate needs and prejudices of the great powers, or to secure the lasting good of the people who lived in the stricken territory. They chose the first rather than the second. The representatives of the people most concerned were not made members of the congress and were listened to only as petitioners, and that with thinly disguised contempt. Russia, England, and Austria each received its pound of flesh, but in the unnatural division of Servia and Bulgaria a smouldering fire had been kindled which was to leap into flame in 1912 and 1913, and finally to sweep the whole world in the mighty conflagration of to-day. Much, very much, of the guilt of the present war goes back to those men who sat around Bismarck's table, and who signed the most selfish and irrational treaty in recent history on that fateful thirteenth of July, 1878. Two years later the old man who was the chief author of its most important provisions was to retire from the stage on which he had played so great a part, saying to his colleagues, "You will come back, but I shall not." The next year he was dead.

One may fitly close this account of the three great peace congresses of the nineteenth century with the words of the

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historian John Richard Green: "The sympathies of peoples with peoples, the sense of a common humanity between nations, the aspirations of nationalities after freedom and independence, are, after all, real political forces which true statesmanship must finally take into account."

ROBERT GRANVILLE CALDWELL.

THE RICE INSTITUTE PAMPHLET

Vol. V

July, 1918

No. 3



Published by

THE RICE INSTITUTE

A university of liberal and technical learning
founded by William Marsh Rice in the City of
Houston, Texas, and dedicated by him to
the advancement of Letters, Science, and Art



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THE SPIRIT THAT WINS¹

II Kings ii, 9—"Let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me."

THESE were the words of Elisha as he saw his master Elijah depart. They were a prayer; a prayer not that the new prophet may continue the methods of the old prophet, but that the new prophet may be richly imbued with the spirit—the spirit of earnestness—that has characterized his predecessor.

My theme is "The Spirit That Wins."

In every man there is what we call his "spirit." It is as different from the mind as it is from the body. Two men may have equally acute minds, similarly trained, and still each may exert an entirely different influence and be an entirely different personality from the other according to his spirit; one man's spirit may be hopeful, another's despondent; one's spirit constructive, another's destructive.

Spirit, too, is entirely different from a code of morals. Two men in business may have equally positive views of honesty, may have the same ethical perceptions and standards, and still they may be antipodes in the atmosphere they carry into trade and in the impression they make on tradesmen. One man may drive the customer from him, while the other draws the customer to him.

Spirit is the intangible something that flows in and around all mental processes, all moral ethics, and gives them a flavor and perfume.

¹ Baccalaureate sermon of the third commencement exercises of the Rice Institute, preached by James G. K. McClure, President of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, in the academic court at 9:30 o'clock Sunday morning, June 9, 1918.

It is really the determinative factor of character; it is the spirit of our thoughts rather than the thoughts themselves which makes us what we really are in the sight of God, and what we seem to be in the sight of our fellows. The matter of spirit is, therefore, of supreme significance to ourselves and to the world. What our spirit is shapes our procedure and decides our destiny.

A man's spirit has much to do with his acceptability to his comrades, with his power of coöperation, with his winsomeness. Other things being equal, in any association of men, it is the spirit, the spirit of fellowship and helpfulness that decides a man's standing and effectiveness.

Spirit, too, is a contagion. Nothing is more suggestive than the experience of Henry M. Stanley when he was sent into Africa to search for Livingstone. Having found him, he tarried with him day after day in close contact, not receiving a single word of instruction, but constantly being under the influence of Livingstone's spirit. In due time the man that had gone to Africa without concern for personal religion became, simply through Livingstone's spirit, a disciple of Livingstone's Christ.

What is true of spirit in an individual is equally true of spirit in an institution. Every institution has its distinctive spirit. There may be two homes equally well constructed, with all outside surroundings and inside appurtenances quite alike; but we go into one and we immediately feel the spirit of calm; we go into the other and we as speedily feel the spirit of turmoil. There may be two great church organizations, holding, as they claim, the same creedal faith and the same general principles of polity, both aiming for the same ends; and yet the spirit of one church gives encouragement to thought, and the spirit of the other represses thought. So in a college or in an institute there comes to be in due time

what we call "the spirit of the institute." Every student breathing it realizes that he has something different within him than exists in any other educational institution, perhaps in its love of truth, or perhaps in its fear to follow the leadings of truth.

What is true of other institutions is true also of a nation. Two nations may speak the same language, may use the same codes of law, domestic and foreign, may look to the same literary leaders for inspiration, and still the two nations may be thousands of miles apart in the distinctive spirit that molds and determines their life.

What is "The Spirit That Wins"? By winning I do not mean succeeding in any mere meteoric way. There is no implied thought of the powder flashing in the pan, bright for the moment, and then dark; but by winning I mean succeeding in some permanent manner that is worthy and noble, so that valuable results abide, and the results are of such a character that we can point to them with approval and feel that within them is the potentiality of eternity.

In the case of the individual there are four elements absolutely essential to this spirit that wins. The first is Genuineness. I speak of genuineness as a spirit. Back of our efforts of kindness, our professions of interest, our expressions of sympathy, there is something necessary to make them acceptable to others and profitable to ourselves, and that is the spirit of genuineness. Wherever there is an individual who in any of his relations to his fellows fails to be true to himself and true to them, there is a man who fails at the threshold of power. Whatever the origin of the word "sincere," whether it means "without wax," or "seen in the sunlight," this is certain, that in due time every one is known as sincere or not; face, manner, look, discover us. Here lies the distinction between the perfunctory and the genuine.

The child learns to distinguish between the service perfunctorily rendered by the hireling and the service rendered by the mother. In this life of ours, when there are the bright eyes of childhood and the bright eyes of students, they see immediately into the inner spirit of all our conduct, and if they find that back of words and deeds there is the hypocritical, there is the mere appeal to the galleries, there is the impulse of jingoism, doubt immediately fills the minds of these onlookers and they discount what we say and do.

The heart is not always to be worn on the sleeve, though I am convinced it should be so worn much oftener than it is if we are to comfort the sorrowful and if we are to give encouragement and cheer to the young. But when the heart is worn upon the sleeve, it must be the true heart. No one unless he is sincere in spirit can understand others. If he is deceitful himself, he will be full of distrust, and his judgment with reference to the promises and procedures of others will necessarily be false. This does not mean that we are always to tell everything that is passing within our hearts and minds; but when we do make expression, either in times of grief or in times of joy, we are under necessity of expressing the truth, for the fundamental element of character is truth, and only as truth pervades the individual can the individual be loyal to himself and loyal to the world.

The second element of "The Spirit That Wins" is Fairness. Lately the man who was formerly in charge of the Krupp Works in Germany, where Germany's great cannon and other munitions have been made during quite a series of years, gave to the world a statement with reference to a scene in the palace of the Emperor at Berlin—a scene that almost immediately followed the outbreak of the present war. The leading people of Germany had been invited by the Kaiser to accept his hospitality. Such an invitation is not

merely a request; it virtually is a command. When a person has accepted such a command, it is almost impossible for him to do otherwise than as his host may ask. At the conclusion of the meal, the Emperor arose and said, "Gentlemen, advance and as we grasp hands promise me that you will stand with me to the last breath." Such a request, in my judgment, was not fair; it was taking wrong advantage of a predicament. Fairness means that in any individual case all the facts of the person, his temperament and his surroundings, are brought into kindly consideration and are treated decorously. Fairness, indeed, is to call a thing black when it is black, and to state that a procedure is evil when it is evil. In fairness there should be no overlooking the fact of righteousness or unrighteousness. But fairness as a spirit means also that every element that enters into the situation receives its due heed. A young woman was singing in the quartette of a church in New York City when her voice trembled. The chairman of the musical committee of the church came forward at the close of the services to tell her that her singing was no longer desired because her voice had trembled. What were the facts? That morning the woman, a widow, had left her only child, a boy, in Brooklyn, upon a dying bed. She had come to the church to fulfil her engagement, irrespective of the fact that her boy was dying, because she intended to be faithful to duty; no word could be sent whereby some one could be secured in her place. No wonder, as she sang with her heart full of the thought of her dying boy, her voice trembled. Fairness in estimating every case takes all qualifying facts, all perplexities, all prejudices, all doubts, all burdens into consideration. Fairness as a spirit is always open to light, continues receptive to truth, never closes its judgment until it has ascertained with comprehensive vision everything that bears upon the situation.

It has no element of browbeating in it. It is "just" in the sense that it "gives to every man and every thing its due."

The third element of "The Spirit That Wins" is Magnanimity. Magnanimity is that great-heartedness which causes a man to look on the world without jealousy and without envy, and makes him willing to surrender his own profit that another may have advantage. It was magnanimity that caused Abraham, the father of our faith, to treat his nephew Lot, so much younger than himself, with generosity when the strife arose between the herdsmen of the uncle and nephew as to the occupancy of land. Abraham, in the grandeur of his nature, said, "You take what land you please, and I will take the rest."

Lately in Chicago a game of golf was being played. As two professors in an educational institution were pursuing the course, they came upon a man cutting sod, who inquired the hour of the day. Consulting their watches, they answered that it was fifteen minutes past five. The man's day had expired at five. As soon as he ascertained that by an error of calculation on his part he had spent fifteen minutes in over-work on his part he began to indulge in expressions of lament, and began to wonder how he ever could make up for those lost fifteen minutes. When the professors heard these expressions, their judgment was that the man would be a cutter of sod, and no more, all the days of his life.

But Mr. Edison tells us of some young students who were employed in his factory-works in New Jersey. When the hour for closing the factory came, three of these students, who had started a task, had assembled all their materials, and had reached a place where there was a little more work to be done in order to complete their task, stayed over their work until it was complete. The bell for noon rang; all

others went; they remained. Edison said, "Those three men will advance more and more in their development."

We often say that there are flowers that are "born to blush unseen and waste their sweetness on the desert air"; but the statement is not wholly true. The very superabundance of the flowers, as we pass them on the prairie, or even as we do not see them at all, is an expression to us of the wonderful magnanimity of God. In more senses than one God causeth our cup to "overflow." His munificence is a constant appeal to us likewise to be munificent. God's heart is never niggardly, nor should our heart be other than superabounding in goodness. When it is in our purpose to render to this world "good measure, pressed down, and running over," there is something in us that in itself is sweet: and as that sweetness imparts itself to our spirit, it gives us power to go into life, securing victory in ourselves and victory in others.

The fourth element in this "Spirit That Wins" is the element of Burden-bearing. If you go to Naples, Italy, you will find men carrying upon their heads great baskets of grapes. Notice them. The burden causes them to stand erect, the shoulders are thrown back, they watch their step. It is burden-bearing that brings a man to his development, to his steadiness, and to his joy.

Some years ago I was on my way to Richmond, Virginia, and along the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad the train stopped at a cross-roads station. As I looked out of the window I saw a laboring man (the day was drawing toward evening) pushing his heavy wheelbarrow up a hill toward his home. His brow was furrowed, his form bent. He looked like a worried man. As I was watching I saw his two little children, clad in their cleanest and brightest

clothes, come around the corner of the hill, burst upon him with gladness in their eyes, and jump into the barrow. Immediately the man straightened himself up with a new elasticity and a new strength. His burden was his refreshment and his joy.

Yes, it is only when in life the superman becomes the subman, getting under life's burden in spirit, and later in deed, that he preserves his strength, secures his equipoise and develops progressive power. It is very noticeable that the heroes of our hearts, continuing as such year after year, are always life's burden-bearers. In due time every Napoleon must give way to a Pasteur. Admiration for the self-centred spirit fades, but admiration for the spirit of the burden-bearer ever increases.

Side by side with these four elements of "The Spirit That Wins," there must be indeed determination, courage, and the purpose of growth, so that when any of us has made efforts to entertain within him this spirit he sees to it that a grim will, an unceasing bravery and a desire to grow in ability likewise possess him. From the instant a man, thus endowed through his own self-choice, wins out, see what magnificent factors of power come into his very being! Such a man is in every respect a splendid character. All of us who know him are proud of him. Sooner or later every one who comes into contact with him does know him. Atmosphere is telepathic; so is spirit. We become aware, we feel, what is a man's spirit. It was this spirit that has determined for all time the place in human regard of Washington and of Lincoln. Both of these men embodied every one of these four elements of "The Spirit That Wins." If you and I are to be worthy of more recognition, if we are to answer to our potentiality, this spirit must win out within ourselves, and it

must win out with those who, being nearest to us, see deepest into the secrets of our being.

So far, I have spoken of "The Spirit That Wins" with reference to the individual. Now I speak of it with reference to the nation, our nation of the United States. As a nation we wish to win in this present war. We are determined to win. We believe that every virtue for which we stand as a nation is a virtue that needs perpetuation, a virtue that must be given opportunity to live. Our task is an immense one. Mankind is always in danger of relaxing from the ideal of an immense task. There are those who claim that if we should succeed in this war we would relinquish our idealism. They claim that if a man becomes in any sense a victor the element of the bully immediately takes possession of him. No such outcome must occur in our case. Accordingly we must be thoughtful not alone for the welfare of to-day; we must be even more thoughtful for the problems of to-morrow. Think for an instant of some elements of the task that is now before us. We are to endeavor to bring about a condition of affairs in international relations whereby there shall be willingness to coöperate in a system of courts seeking continual peace. Men may call this task visionary; may claim that it is utterly impossible of accomplishment; but to students of history who have seen savage tribes emerge from processes of direct retaliation of injury to judicial procedures, the task seems merely in the line of past development. The more difficult the task, the more interesting it is. If the task is a good one it appeals to all the finer and nobler elements of our being, it summons those elements to the front and calls upon them to be wise, and brave, and adaptive to circumstances and to need. The future of the world's his-

tory will give to us such an opportunity for study, for self-denial, for understanding, and for practical coöperation as has never been known in the history of humanity; and if we meet the situation aright, the generations that follow the present generation shall rise into larger and larger ascendancy and glory and worthiness. One great effect of the Napoleonic wars was to create the spirit of nationality. Since those wars that spirit has never died. Now has come this war, and out of it there must be a spirit of world-wide nationality. The brotherhood of all the peoples of the earth ought now, if we can properly meet the situation as it should be met, to be an assured thing. To this end our high idealism as a nation must be preserved in our hearts and lives, and must be perpetuated when excitement is past and the pressure of difficulty along the battle-line is gone. It is true that there never has been a task comparable to our task as it confronts the people of the United States. Our position is absolutely unique in the centuries and in our relation to other nations.

The question now is, What is the spirit that is to win in us and through us as a nation? First of all, it is the spirit of Genuineness. The day is past for secret treaties. The people are everywhere to know what is being done in the line of agreement with other nations. We must give our legislators and representatives full opportunity for the pursuance of quiet interviews. We must not demand information of them too speedily. Time is always required in matters of supreme moment. But when the time has passed and the facts have been concluded, then there must be perfect openness and perfect truthfulness.

Ah! you say, diplomacy has been of such a nature in past years that nobody will believe in the genuineness of diplomacy. I am well aware that I am speaking of what may

be called "Utopia." Every offer of peace so far made, according to the statement of President Wilson, seems to have had beneath it insincerity, the whole programme not being outlined, much being hidden. Even if there is delay, we should not do anything looking toward peace conclusions until everything is open and visible and can be judged. We must speak truth until people know that we speak truth. In matters of procedure it is absolutely impossible to prescribe methods. All that we can prescribe is spirit. Sincerity is to be our present, our continuous, our future spirit; and it is the only spirit that can possibly win, put our nation at the front and keep it there for all time, because truth, and truth alone, has in it the elements of permanency.

Then, too, if we are to win out we must have the spirit of Fairness. Here is this wonderful State of Texas, wonderful in its resources, wonderful in its people, wonderful in its possibilities. It is wonderful, too, in its extent. For many years I have kept in my study a diagram showing the dimensions in square miles of the different parts of the world—France, Germany, and each and all the States of our own country. Put these dimensions of Texas side by side with the dimensions of Rhode Island, and while on the diagram the dimensions of Texas are as large as the width of an octavo page, the dimensions of Rhode Island are but a single line. And yet here we are in the United States, coöperating in such a way that each State has its own two senators. This method of coöperation has been practised and has been found workable.

It is possible to give due recognition to smaller bodies; such bodies as Belgium, Bohemia, Serbia, must have their due place. The stories of their wrongs cut us to the heart. Young men in the institution with which I am connected have not heard from their homes in these lands for over two

years,—homes in which were their aged fathers and mothers, homes in which there were girls of fifteen, sixteen, eighteen. These men lie awake at night, and bring to us haggard faces in the morning.

Yes, fairness means that every nation shall have its chance to live and shall have its chance for trade, and that out of this seemingly chaotic condition there shall develop an order of brotherly fellowship which shall enable every nation in its own way to make its contribution to the common welfare of mankind. But think for an instant of what a spirit of fairness is absolutely necessary in order to such a magnificent result, so that greatness shall have its proper consideration and littleness shall also have its proper consideration. I am well aware that this spirit is not the spirit of Odin. The thought of Odin is that might makes right, and that the little exists for the great, but the spirit of our Christ is that only right makes might, and that the great exists for the little.

Then there must also be the spirit of Magnanimity. We have gone into this war unselfishly. There is a sense in which it is true that we are defending ourselves; but I will venture the assertion that the great proportion of Americans all through this period of war have had within their hearts, more predominately than themselves, the other peoples of the world for whom they would live, and for whom they would be ready to die. No, we do not mean to bring back anything in our hands; not a parcel of land, not a dollar of money. Oh, but you say, this too is Utopian, and none can believe in such magnanimity. But we must see to it that such magnanimity eventually will be believed in. It undoubtedly is the spirit of our people. There is much hopefulness in this fact. Only a great-hearted nation can possibly live. Small-hearted nations are bound to die. Any person on the face of the earth who claims that he exists that

all others may pay tribute to him is, according to both the laws of God and of history, a fool. Any nation that looks upon itself as heir to the subservience of other nations is on its way to suicide. Pride of any kind always goes before a fall. A nation inspired by pride is sure to perish. Magnanimity alone ensures stability. Strange as it may seem, it is absolutely true that the meek inherit the earth. "Great Babylon that I have built" foreshadows Nebuchadnezzar's downfall, as well as indicates his imbecility.

The fourth element of "The Spirit That Wins" is the spirit of Burden-bearing. It is perfectly marvelous what changes have come in our land as we have seen our stoop-shouldered youth arise in their manhood, stand upright, and develop into splendid personality. They had been lolling about in the easy-chairs of clubs; they had been indolent and self-centred; they had given themselves to the study of the style of the latest fashion; they had seemed to be mere dawdlers. But in an instant they had gotten under the burden, the burden of the world's redemption, and see now the magnificence of their appearance!

It would be a fatal thing if once again this nation should revert to the ideal that physical effort and material well-being are the ends of existence. If we should resume our talk of dollars, our talk of what we call refinement, our talk of luxury, we should deserve to perish. Now and hereafter, we must think and we must talk in the spirit of burden-bearing. It is this spirit which makes our men strong to do and bear, which makes our nation superb and exalted. So far as the burden-bearing sentiment becomes pervasive of society, it renovates and rejuvenates society. If we believe, and live the belief, that we as a people exist to lift up the fallen, to serve the world's needs, and to bring in the glory of the world's welfare, whatever the burdens thus entailed

upon us, we shall have the spirit that will cause us as a nation to win out now and to win out always.

We are determined to win. No price is too costly. Money is nothing. The severance of the dear home ties is nothing. On into the conflict we go undeterred, our faces set as a flint. All sorts of calamities may intervene; all sorts of discouragements, too. It may seem as though we are driven to the last wall; but at the last wall we will stand. We intend to sustain our courage. We are not afraid of the outlook. We are perfectly aware that there are certain things that live, and no one can take away their life from them; that righteousness is one of those things; that there is a purpose shaping this universe, and that no man can obstruct that purpose other than to his own destruction. We know that justice is to continue, and justice is to control. Animated by these thoughts, we purpose to be brave, cheerful, hopeful, wherever we are, and we are determined to go from strength to strength in our spirit.

There have been other nations that have lived and died. For their death there has always been a reason. "The Spirit That Wins" has not been dominant in them. They may have cherished it for a little while, but in due time they allowed it to disappear from their hearts, and accordingly they deserved to die. Let us not think that we are ever to die. We will not die as a nation if this "Spirit That Wins" is in us, and unceasingly and grandly controls.

MEMBERS OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:

In any year it is a matter of supreme interest when persons like yourselves reach such a service as that of this morning—the baccalaureate service. In the name of God you have been addressed through the example of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now you are to go from this religious acknowledg-

ment into the world, each carrying one's individual temperament, and each possessing one's individual possibility of growth.

In this peculiar year I remind you that all of us are to be peculiarly thoughtful. Momentous problems face us, one and all. You must help solve these problems. Wherever you are, you will best influence mankind by what you are in spirit. That spirit will shape your thinking and will shape your expression.

Love this nation. Give to those who will look to you for guidance the ideas, the convictions, the information, that will enable them to grasp the significance of "The Spirit That Wins" in a nation. Enable them, if you can, to love this spirit and inspire them to perpetuate it.

When I first went away to college there was sent to me by my mother an extract from a paper, the heading of which was, "I will come home as honorable as I left, or not at all." It was a sentence from a boy's letter to his mother, written as he was going out into the untried experiences of life. That sentence was printed in italics at the heading of paragraph after paragraph, each paragraph indicating the special temptations, difficulties, and responsibilities that the boy might meet. "I will come home as honorable as I left, or not at all." I see these words to-day; they never have faded from my mind or heart. They put within me the resolve that I would be clean, that I would try to take into my being this "Spirit That Wins" as to-day it has been outlined, and they have been an inspiration to me from manhood until now.

You, too, are going out into the untried experience of life. I bid you pray, almost in the words that Elisha offered, the petition: "Let me have a double portion of 'The Spirit That Wins.' "

If you have this spirit, the life of each one of you will be of exceeding beauty, exceeding strength, and exceeding joy; the life of each one of you, too, will be of exceeding stimulation and blessing to the world. Therefore, I would have you pledge me as you stand here, pledge me in your heart, in these words: "I will come back to the Rice Institute in 'The Spirit That Wins,' or I will not come back at all."

May it be that a double portion of this spirit, now and forever more, may abide within you! Amen.

JAMES G. K. McCLURE.

THOUGHTS FOR THE TIMES¹

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CLASS,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

IT is a distinct pleasure to me to come to this city where the infancy of Texas was cradled and participate in these exercises whose meaning is the graduation of Texas sons and daughters from the halls of a great Texas university into the walks of useful professions and pursuits. It is a far cry from that historic time which in these precincts marked the beginning of the Texas Republic, to this equally historic time which in occasions like this marks in such measure the fulfilment of the dream of the large-visioned men in whose heroism it was founded. Between the two periods has rolled the stream of mighty events, those things in which the life of the Commonwealth has been translated, and by which it has been thus far advanced. We are come now to the season of the maturing of its powers, the time of the fruition of the forces that set it upon its high career and dedicated it to its lofty aims. All about us we see this final attainment of its strength—in the broad reaches of cultivated land, the widened currents of commerce, the increased development of natural resource, in the diversified teeming industry whose busy hum mingles with the music of the air. But above all, we see it in a quickened and larger interest in the education of the youth of the State, which throughout its whole extent expresses the common resolution of a great

¹ Address delivered by Nelson Phillips, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Texas, at the third commencement convocation of the Rice Institute, held Monday morning, June 10, 1918, at nine o'clock.

people that every Texas boy and girl, whatever their station or circumstance, shall have the full opportunity of entering life disciplined and trained for its contests, seasoned for its struggles, with the uplifted crest of those who are prepared and ready for its issues and upon whose brow sits the promise of success. Nothing so well bespeaks the mighty spirit of Texas as this. Of nothing may we as a citizenship be more proud. In nothing have we better kept faith with the sacrifice of the fathers. By no nobler token may we worthily salute the fadeless memory of the martyrs of Goliad and the Alamo and the heroes of San Jacinto.

A monument to that resolution as it filled the life of one great-hearted man, as it interpreted his love for the State and its youth, and inspired the gift of his fortune for their benefit, is this splendid institute. In its broad foundation, its general provision, the amplitude of its curriculum, the broad scope of its purpose and intent, it is typical of the State, and is one of those few things which we may truly say are commensurate with its future. How fitting it is that this historic soil which was the breeding-ground of the patriotism that brought the Commonwealth into being, should be the abode of this splendid seat of learning, a training-ground for its youth, where shall be equally lighted the fires of exalted effort for worthy lives in which the State may renew itself and its free, independent, and invincible spirit be preserved!

These commencement occasions always have a deep appeal for me. They signify more than we sometimes realize. They mark an epoch in these young lives—that time portentous with human interest and carrying within its womb the issues of human welfare, which denotes for young men and young women all over the land the surrender of the things of their youth, the laying aside of the character of

those who are merely preparing for the activities of the world, and their entrance, now, into its rude stream, to battle with its treacherous currents, to assume its stern duties, to become dedicated to its relentless and unending, and yet its noble, God-given, tasks. They go, now, into the great arena, into the thick of the smoke and dust of its conflict, into the moil and toil of its labors, into the stress and storm of its passions, into the fierce crucible of eternal forces,—the mighty touchstone of God for his creatures, by which he puts them to the test. There they will walk in the shadow sometimes, but if they are worthy, just as often in the light. There they will feel the sting of defeat sometimes, but if they are strong, just as often the elation of victory. There they will see with unclouded eyes the weakness, the depravity, the imperfections of humankind, all the stark and naked wretchedness which under the wise decree of Providence is a necessary part of human lot; but oftener, if they are true, will they look upon, in all their splendid proportion, the charity, the kindness, and the goodness in humankind—those unconquerable virtues which redeem it, preserve the balance of human happiness, and make of human life a broad and stately highway, marked by the milestones of exalted action and reaching unto the throne of God. There, finally, they will fail or succeed—sink into the sombre silences of those who miss the goal and whom the world heartlessly passes by and cruelly forgets; or rise to the heights of memorable achievement, blessing the world by what they have wrought, leaving behind them the useful lessons of a life finely used and honorably lived, and crowning its high purposes with the enduring glories of a good name.

It is reflections like these which will give a thoughtful man some pause as to what he may say with propriety and

in briefness to graduates of a university as they are about to go out to meet their great experience.

I have never altogether enjoyed the office of giving advice. Most of the addresses of this kind that I have listened to in my time mainly consisted of that. It was wholesome advice, for the quality of advice is always to be wholesome. At least they who give it generally think so. But while it was wholesome enough, like lots of things that are wholesome, it was somewhat tedious. It was like some diets the doctors prescribe—good for the patient but hard on him at the same time, illustrating the pith of Bacon's remark about new laws—which proved how wise a man he was—when he said they are like apothecaries' drugs; they remedy the disease, but trouble the body. Too many men give advice with a complacency and self-satisfaction as large as Martin Luther's when he said with more conceit than reverence, "God Almighty cannot get along without wise men."

One of the best things a man can do in his life is "to here and there put in the hands of the youth of his country a light which will burn after his own individual taper is ~~extin-~~guished." I do not feel that I can do that, but I would like to do it with you.

I have not concerned myself for a subject upon which to address you. There was no need that I should. Its nature comes unbidden. This event with its large consequence to these young men and women, these halls templeing the wisdom of the enervated names that like beacons have lighted the long and tortuous pathway of the world, this atmosphere about us which breathes the brooding care of a noble academy for its children as they go out from its charge, all furnish inevitable theme to any man whose heart beats for his fellow-men and who would speak to them in the terms and sympathy of that brotherhood. I care not how it be phrased

or what name it bears. If it be a true message, it will be in the end simply of those influences whose power it is to touch the lives of men with hope, put in their hands in this tremendous hour the rod and staff of a great purpose whereby they may be useful to the world and truly typify the character of their land, give them the strength to be steadfast amid all-encircling gloom, and bring them at last to the foot of the hill with that peace which contents the final hours of those whose toil, whether famed or obscure, has been a benediction to mankind,—that peace which faces with calmness and serenity the breaking of the eternal dawn.

To help provide, to nurture, to foster, to keep pure those influences in the life of the people, and hence in the life of the State and the Nation, is the great work of education. That is why the school is a place of such responsibility, the teacher a man of such high obligation. That is why a university is a seat of trust and power, why it should be always nothing less than a free fountain of living waters. That is why in this time of all times, when we are having our Babel of ideas just as truly as the ancients had their Babel of tongues, it should be the undefiled altar of inviolate truth. That is why in this restless hour of change it should be the citadel for the protection, and not an enemy arsenal for the destruction, of those great principles upon which this Republic was founded, which have given us liberty and constitutional government, the richest, rarest possession any people have owned in all time,—that priceless thing whose loss to this Nation would be the knell of its doom, marking in all its vast tragedy the failure of men to govern themselves and their last effort on this earth to be free. That is why it should be now in this time of national peril the sanctuary of the Americanism and the Democracy of this land, not the Americanism of the narrow, carping doctrinaire with his dis-

tempered empty dreams, his base dogmas of discontent, his vapid mouthings, and his futile plans for reducing all men to the spurious level of a commonplace mediocrity and an ignoble indolence; nor that of the spineless "conscientious objector," with his valiant code of courage and his pale, limp, and puny sense of duty; nor that of the greedy, smooth, and oily profiteer, coining the suffering of a nation into paltry riches and like a vulture plucking at its vitals as it lies a Prometheus manacled upon the rock; but the Americanism, thank God, of Washington, Franklin, and Robert Morris, of Light-Horse Harry Lee and Greene and Sumter, Marion and Paul Jones, who had just begun to fight,—the Americanism of those clear-eyed, clean-limbed young heroes who are swarming across the seas for the relief of a stricken world, and are now treading the fiery edge of battle for the honor of the Nation and the life of humanity. Not the Democracy of the selfish, shriveled Socialist, with his doctrines based on envy that makes his heart "wither at another's joy and hate an excellence he cannot reach," with his creed of spoliation and plunder of those who have succeeded in the world simply because they have succeeded, a creed of bondage and slavery in its denial to men, the poor and the well-to-do alike, of the right to own and enjoy the just rewards of their toil,—the reverse of man's God-given liberty to work and possess the fruits of his labors; but the Democracy of the sturdy American patriot, who finds a pride in his neighbor's success and holds it contemptible to covet; who spurns the notion that he is cast in such feeble mould as to be a servile suppliant for governmental bounty which he knows can only be bestowed by taxes wrung from his fellows; who scorns a special privilege and demands only justice that is equal and exact; who is unwilling that in this land any class should profit at the expense or suffer at the hands

of any other class, and hence refuses to recognize that there are any classes here save those of honest men and false men, good men and bad men; whose concern for his country is not expressed in some advantage for himself. but that its laws remain equal, and all men, both high and low, equal before them; and who asks only that he be left a freeman; free to work and to toil with all his strength. because God did not disdain to labor and gave it to man as the great field for his powers; free to mingle with it some play; free to be provident and saving and bless wife and children with his thrift; free to live his life and think and voice worthy, unfettered thoughts; free to stand upon the sunlit hills of God's universe, with the freshness of the morning upon his brow and feel the surge of eager blood from a clean heart and know that he has a freeman's rights and a freeman's opportunity, and that while the world will mock him if he sits in the shade with folded hands, it is his to conquer by a freeman's will and a true man's effort.

Those who leave a college speak of it as their Alma Mater. That is now a commonplace expression. I wonder if we realize always what a noble term it is, what a singular endearment it voices,—*our fostering mother*. A fostering mother! What a fine relation is that for a great institution of learning to bear to all those who throughout the years have learned wisdom at her feet and have gone out into the world sustained by her strength and inspired by her lofty example! What a solace to have that great heart to turn to for guidance and comfort, as Matthew Arnold, after his life's warfare against the Philistines of his day, turned with broken body and tired mind to Oxford and found there the peace of his life,—Oxford, "spreading its gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from its towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages!"

While Oxford is upon my lips, let me remind you of the memorable share it has had in this war. Before the war, its undergraduates numbered 3200. There are now only 300, composed entirely of wounded soldiers, foreigners, and men rejected for physical disability. Of the 11,500 Oxford men in the English armies, 15 have been awarded the Victoria Cross, 314 the Distinguished Service Order, 983 the Military Cross, 1600 have been mentioned for gallantry in despatches, and 2100 have been killed. The part Cambridge has played is no less notable. The universities of Texas, including Rice, the universities of America in every State, are matching this proud and tragic achievement. Let those who scoff at broad and liberal education stand mute and shamed before this heroic, this resplendent record!

What are the things which the universities, which we as a people, need now chiefly to foster? Above all, I would answer, the stalwart fibre, the rugged independence, the manly courage, the simple habits of the Anglo-Saxon stock. If we maintain these, we will maintain with them Anglo-Saxon freedom; and with Anglo-Saxon freedom the happiness of this people is secure. It brought the nation into being. Only by it can it live. Without it, it will have and will deserve no better fate than to perish from the face of the earth and rest in the broken sepulchres of forgotten peoples who, in their self-conceit and the worship of false idols, threw away their liberties and paid the penalty of that crime with the end of national existence.

No truer saying was ever spoken than that "luxury is the displacement of life." Before this war we were fast becoming a luxury-loving people—not all of us, but too many of us for safety. With steam, our varied and vast machines, with the forces of electricity, we were making life too automatic; and in that same degree we were sapping it of its vitality and

robbing it of its simplicity and innate strength. Strength never expresses itself in finery. It scorns all idle trappings which are for show. Individual life will war with constant repression. It becomes stagnant and inert when subdued to a monotonous routine. It craves freedom of action, and that it will have, either in its higher or its lower forms. This is an age of machines, it is true; but let us beware of any effort or tendency which reduces men anywhere to that dull level. We have been going at too rapid a pace and living under too high a tension. We see that in young men quickly grown old and in some of our seniors enervated before their time. Speed is all right in its place, but I prefer not to regard life as a spasm. My observation is that they make more of it and get more out of it who move through it, not with sloth or ease, but with patience and composure, with the sure, even stride which bespeaks resolution, will, and steady industry.

We have made life more varied, perhaps richer in some things and fuller in others. But have we made it any happier or more useful than when it was freer and simpler? Let each man appraise it for himself. But when I think of the man of strength and fearlessness I want my boy to be, I find myself turning to the noble, rugged figure of the American pioneer. And when I think of the people I would like for us always to be, I conceive a people of simplicity of manners, of habit, simplicity of speech and simplicity of life; a people "invincible alike to evil fortune and to good"; frugal, honest, and sincere; not unadapted nor unused to the wholesome pleasures of the world, but to whom its vanities do not appeal and whom its follies cannot corrupt.

One of the finest pictures in all the Bible is that of Samson carrying off upon his shoulders the ponderous gates of the city of Gaza—overcoming by his natural strength that

which would imprison him. Our strength must be our reliance if we are to prevail over the base and sordid things of this life.

Many things have altered, and will further be shifted, turned, and modified in this world; but remember this, the theory of human conduct has never changed and never will. Science is a wonderful force. It has revised for us the whole theory of matter. But it is powerless to revise even one of the eternal verities by which human conduct is to be tested. They are immutable because they constitute the changeless code of right and wrong—the one stable thing of this world, to whose laws we are bound by a never ending obligation and which are to justify us or condemn us as we, ourselves, shall will. The supreme task of education, in whose performance it succeeds or fails, is, as a wise man once declared it, simply “to make knowledge and conduct go hand in hand, that wisdom and character may be the true reflections of each other.”

This was impressed upon me one time in a singular way, for in this incident I witnessed how the knowledge which education imparts may be wholly vain in its influence, and how necessary it is, not merely that its knowledge be gained, but that it be effectual in its controlling power. I met a young student once, bright, well read, but not well informed, and full of spirit. In our conversation he rather eagerly turned to the subject of government, for the reason, I suppose, that he was full of it. Presently, he announced with some emphasis and no little assurance that he did not believe in a constitution. I knew then that his knowledge and his conduct were diverging. I asked him, “Why?” He replied, “For the reason that *it too often gets in the way*. We have a fast growing state, in need of development; and whenever we start to do something worth while, we find the Constitu-

tion forbids it." I answered that I was glad he had assigned that as his reason. At this, he expressed surprise and wanted to know why I had said that. I replied that it was because I had heard many men in my time object to the Ten Commandments for the same reason. Then I reminded him that the Constitution never gets in the way of the man who subscribes and lives up to it, which is the patriot's constant duty, and that it was intended to get in the way of every other kind of man. He left me with a different—and, I trust, a truer—idea of the Constitution. I believe I did him the service which his school had not done, of bringing his knowledge and his thought into harmony with each other. I saved him, I think, from the bitter fate of starting out into his active life with the back of his hand to one of the imperishable institutions of his country, from rebellion against the finest conception of the human mind,—that the sovereignty of the people shall live and rule in organic law for the government of themselves and the protection to every man of those great rights which we call by the name of liberty.

The preservation for our children of these vast ideas in which men have expressed their nobler selves is one of the fine duties of the age. It is an odd paradox, yet we are always faced with the truth of it, that somehow those things which have most blessed the world are the product of conflict, and in turn seem always to have to battle for their lives. This but expresses the strange perverseness of mankind. We must be tolerant with it, for it is that which for a deep purpose is mixed in us all—poor human frailty; and for it there is no ultimate cure but charity. But I do not believe in being too indulgent with it, particularly in ourselves. And as applied to ourselves we should always remember the Parable of the Bramble. You will recall that one time, when the trees went out to anoint a king among themselves to rule

over them, the useful, busy trees all refused the office, the Fig-tree, the Olive, and the Vine in turn declining it. It therefore went begging—a strange thing for an office to do even in that time. It was finally offered to the Bramble. He eagerly assumed it, and promptly declared that his policy would be to cut down the Cedars of Lebanon.

My young friends, I have detained you with this desultory address too long. As you go into the splendid opportunities of life, make of yourselves, I pray you, fine centres of faith, high purpose, and worthy deed, radiating a usefulness by which you can best repay your obligation to this, your great fostering mother. Love good books and cherish them. If it be our fate that a fickle public taste has banished the plays of Shakespeare, do not exile him from your mind. Infuse into your natures the robustness, the independence, the sincerity of old Samuel Johnson, even if he was a Tory and did declare that the first Whig was the devil. Burke, the greatest Whig of his own or of any time, venerated him and loved him. Be not a type of that idle, aimless man of whom, as a wit expressed it, about all the preacher could say at his funeral was that he was the first man at a fire. Be not merely “a brilliant ineffectuality.” Be the kind Carlyle said Walter Scott was—the kind that, when he departed this earth, took a man’s life along with him. If the snows of winter descend upon your head, keep summer always in your heart. It is the grateful season. Strive with all your might, even though it be with aching hands and under a burning sky. Work, everywhere and in every station, is noble. You may put your life in it with the certainty that you will realize the blessedness of it. I bid you each and all a high and honorable career.

NELSON PHILLIPS.

THREE GIFTS TO THE RICE INSTITUTE

I

THE GRAHAM BAKER STUDENTSHIP

IN a letter addressed to the Trustees of the Rice Institute in June, 1918, Captain and Mrs. James A. Baker, of Houston, expressed their desire to found at the new university a scholarship in memory of their eldest son, the late Frank Graham Baker, and their readiness to place in the hands of the Trustees adequate funds for the permanent endowment of such scholarship. The generous gift of Captain and Mrs. Baker, the first of its kind in the history of the new institution, the Trustees of the Institute have gratefully accepted.

This memorial scholarship will be known as the Graham Baker Studentship. It will be awarded annually, and the holder of the scholarship will be known as the Graham Baker Student for the year. The studentship will be awarded for high standing in scholarship, and the annual stipend thereof will be three hundred and sixty dollars. The candidates must be students of the Rice Institute, and the competition will be open both to young men and to young women. The award will be announced at the commencement convocation in June.

Through the Graham Baker Studentship the campus life of the new institution is still further linked up with the very beginnings of the Rice foundation. Before there was any Rice campus, the young man whose name this scholarship

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bears died while a student in school preparing for one of the older universities. His grandfather, James A. Baker, had been the Founder's legal adviser. His father, James A. Baker, Jr., has been chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Rice Institute from the date of its incorporation. The young man was preparing for a career in the profession of his fathers. Reared under the traditions of his Kentucky and Texas forebears, in a Christian home whose humanitarian influences have radiated through all the channels of the social, intellectual, and spiritual life of the city and commonwealth, this young son of the South was consistently proving worthy of his rich heritage. In the full flush of health and youthful ambition he was suddenly stricken and cut down. The great hope¹ that went out with his passing is not to remain unfulfilled. The torch that dropped from his hand is to be caught up, relighted, carried in full flame, and passed on from generation to generation in the hands of the Graham Baker Students of Rice. And the imagination takes fire of inspiration from that flaming line of lights, far as eye can see, that shall keep living the memory of the lad long, long after the hands shall have become dust that now rear these structures of stone and spirit. Throughout the same long stretch of years, the students who strive for the torch, and their comrades who applaud them in the striving, will not only hold the donors in grateful remembrance but also perpetuate in college tradition the affectionate regard in which Captain and Mrs. Baker have always been held by all members of the college.

¹ The lad in his youth,
Philip his father laid here,
His great hope, Nicoteles.

—*From the Greek Anthology.*

II

THE HOHENTHAL SCHOLARSHIPS

—

IN a communication addressed to the Trustees of the Rice Institute in June, 1918, Mr. William M. Rice, Jr., informed the Trustees that under the last will and testament of the late Lionel Hohenthal, of Houston, Mr. Rice, his executor, had been authorized to devote the residue of the estate to the establishment of a permanent memorial to Mr. Hohenthal's mother, father, and brother. In this letter Mr. Rice intimated further that he had decided to ask the Trustees of the Rice Institute to accept in Mr. Hohenthal's name his residuary estate as an endowment for a scholarship fund to be known as the Hohenthal Scholarship Fund. This generous gift the Trustees have gratefully accepted.

The scholarships made possible by the income of this fund will be known as the Hohenthal Scholarships, and the names of the bearers will appear in the announcements as Hohenthal Scholars of the Institute. The Hohenthal Scholarships will be awarded on a basis of high standing in scholarship. They will be open to students of the Rice Institute, both young men and young women. The annual stipend of each scholarship will be two hundred dollars, and at present some half-dozen of them will be available. Undeveloped resources of the estate may yield sufficient income to provide additional scholarships in the future.

A few years before his death Mr. Hohenthal had retired from a long and successful business career in Houston. Of gentle manners and quiet pursuits, he was greatly beloved of his intimates and highly esteemed by all who knew him. It was characteristic of the modesty and temper of his life

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that to a lifelong friend he should have accorded the privilege of devising a fitting memorial to his nearest of kin. And it would seem to be singularly in keeping with the interests of his well-ordered life that to an institution of learning should be entrusted the means whereby he sought to preserve in living memory, not himself, but his mother, father, and brother. Nor will his example of filial devotion fail of emulation by the Rice undergraduates, some of whom directly, and all indirectly, are to share in the benefits of Mr. Hohenthal's benefaction to their Alma Mater. And in their local traditions of song and story the students and scholars will also pay tribute to the donor's fine tribute to friendship, and celebrate another instance of his friend's friendly interest in the college.

III

THE SHARP LECTURESHIP IN CIVICS AND PHILANTHROPY

IN a letter addressed to the Trustees of the Rice Institute in June, 1918, Mrs. Estelle B. Sharp, of Houston, expressed her desire to place in the hands of the Trustees funds for the provision of a lectureship in civics and philanthropy, and in the same letter Mrs. Sharp intimated her willingness to secure under this lectureship four annual scholarships. This generous gift of an endowed lectureship, the first of its kind in the history of the new institution, and its accompanying scholarships, the Trustees have gratefully accepted.

Mrs. Sharp's donation of the Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy makes possible the expansion of the university's educational programme along lines of usefulness for which immediate provision could not otherwise have

been made. It is the purpose of the new department, whose foundations are thus being laid, to train Southern social workers for social welfare work in the South, and to place the academic training of these social workers on a graduate basis. The successful prosecution of this plan will be greatly facilitated by the scholarships which Mrs. Sharp is proposing to associate with the Sharp Lectureship. These scholarships will be open to graduates of the Rice Institute and to graduates of other institutions maintaining similar standards and requirements. They will be awarded primarily for high standing in scholarship, but in making the award account will also be taken of personal qualifications for the direction of organized charity, relief, and settlement work in city and rural communities. Both young men and young women will be eligible to the scholarships, and at present properly qualified undergraduates may be considered among the applicants. The annual stipend of each scholarship will be two hundred and fifty dollars.

There is thus to be continued and developed at the Rice Institute work undertaken by the Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy, which was organized and incorporated a few years ago under Mrs. Sharp's leadership. The good will of the earlier organization goes with her splendid gift to the Institute, and with the inauguration of the new work at Rice the Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy dissolves. Throughout its career the latter institution enjoyed cordial coöperation on the part of members of the faculty of the Rice Institute: Mr. Caldwell was chairman of the board of trustees, Mr. Ward, a trustee, and Mr. Axson, a member of the advisory committee, while Messrs. Edwards, Miller, Tsanoff, and Watkin also gave courses of lectures: accordingly, the merging of the Texas School appears as a very natural stage in the development of its work, while at the

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same time Mrs. Sharp's further initiative in civics and philanthropy serves to enrich, and on the side of the social sciences, the scientific programme of this university of liberal and technical learning. To all friends of the university it comes as a most heartening and auspicious omen that this noble gentlewoman, universally known for her philanthropic work on which she is daily bent in quietness, confidence, and strength, should have singled out this new institution as a permanent ally in that humanitarian endeavor. And to all lovers of humanity it is a most cheering prospect to see that, much earlier than could have been anticipated, the Rice Institute, through Mrs. Sharp's beneficent action, is about to realize its early hope of participating in the advancement of humanitarian movements in city, or State, or nation, or world.

THE RICE INSTITUTE PAMPHLET

Vol. V

October, 1918

No. 4



Published by

THE RICE INSTITUTE

A university of liberal and technical learning
founded by William Marsh Rice in the City of
Houston, Texas, and dedicated by him to
the advancement of Letters, Science, and Art

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MATRICULATION ADDRESS, AUTUMN OF 1918¹

I

THE FOUNDER'S ANNIVERSARY

WHATEVER our church—whatever its creed or doctrine, whatever its chronicles of religious experience, whatever its counsels of charity, whatever its consolations of hope, whatever its confession of faith—whatever our church, we should all like to claim kinship in character and the beauty of holiness with the Founder of the Christian faith. Moreover, despite party differences of conservative leaning heavily on the past, of liberal looking heartfully to the future, of radical in league with neither, we are, in citizenship and in patriotism, political kinsmen of the Father of his Country and of the Founders of the Republic. The Founder of this educational institution was a childless man: as sons and daughters of the University you are his nearest of kin, heirs to the Rice Institute, a university of liberal and technical learning, dedicated to the advancement of letters, science, and art. And whether in the enjoyment of this rich heritage you remain with us for a term, for a year, or for a degree, for a thousand years you will be one of us in a family fellowship of spirit that dates from the founding of the college. The Founder of the College was a childless man: in cultivation and education you may be children of his spirit. The

¹ Read September 23rd, 1918, at the opening meeting of the seventh academic year of the Rice Institute.

As in preceding issues of the Rice Institute Pamphlet, the unsigned pieces in this number have been written by the President of the Rice Institute.

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Father of his Country was a childless man: in citizenship and patriotism you are children of his spirit. The Founder of Christianity was a childless man: in character and religious experience may you be children of his spirit.

Eighteen years ago to-day Mr. Rice died. Nine years earlier he chartered the corporation. Advanced in years and involved in affairs, he postponed the building of the university until after his death. In the legal clearing up of the mysterious circumstances surrounding his death, his estate was entangled in long years of litigation. When from the courts of justice the Rice Institute finally came into its own, the Trustees had to take time to think. They took time to think. Only after thought have they wrought, and then with decision and dispatch. And their works, I believe, he would pronounce good. At any rate, I wish with all my heart that he might in physical presence walk the Rice campus and contemplate the towers thereof that bear his name, towers rising from the Texas prairie, shining against the sky, and fairly singing through the shining. I wish that he were standing at this desk to-day, and that we could see him standing at this desk to-day, looking into your grateful hearts even as I am looking into your glowing faces. He cannot be very far away: for, if the great purpose of his life may not bring him back, we are living under war conditions that should wake the dead.

He must have been here six years ago this morning, when, on the anniversary of his death, the first assembly of the Rice Institute was held in the Faculty Chamber. He must have been here a year and a half before, when, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the independence of Texas, the Trustees were setting in place the corner-stone of the first building of the Rice Institute. He must have been here in

those great days of October, 1912, when on the anniversary of the arrival of Columbus we were observing with appropriate academic ceremonies the formal opening¹ of the Rice Institute.

¹ During the recent long vacation there have appeared in print several accounts in appreciation of the first Rice Institute academic festival. One of these accounts is in a chapter of Sir William A. Tilden's life of the distinguished chemist, the late Professor Sir William Ramsay. To this published memorial of the life and work of Sir William Ramsay his widow, Lady Ramsay, has contributed the material for a most interesting chapter on the journeys they had had together. The last of these journeys was the one to the United States in the autumn of 1912, when they came to Houston to participate in the exercises of the formal opening of the Rice Institute. A further summary account of these beginnings appears under the title, "A New American University," in an extended essay-review of the Book of the Opening of the Rice Institute, which Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, one of the editors of *Science Progress*, has contributed to the July, 1918, number of that quarterly review of scientific thought, work and affairs.

II

RECORD OF SEVERAL GIFTS PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED

ALONGSIDE of the frames bearing several of the addresses of congratulation and good will received on the occasion of the formal opening and dedication of the Rice Institute, we are placing this autumn on the walls of the Faculty Chamber permanent records of three recent gifts to the new university. These records are replicas of parchments conveying, under the seal and rubric of Rice, and in terms of resolutions adopted by the Trustees of the Institute, the thanks of the new foundation for the Graham Baker Studentship, the Hohenthal Scholarship Fund, and the Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy. For the information and inspiration of the undergraduates the text of these parchment letters is reproduced in this matriculation address, though the reader will remark the use of phrases which have already appeared in print in paragraphs bearing the original announcements of these several gifts.

“Accepting the generous gift which Captain and Mrs. James Addison Baker offer for the establishment and endowment of the Graham Baker Studentship in memory of their eldest son, the late Frank Graham Baker, the Trustees of the Rice Institute request the donors to receive as a slight token in appreciation of their benefaction this transcription from a minute which the Trustees have adopted: ‘In grateful acknowledgment of the donation of the first endowed scholarship in the history of the new university, the Trustees recognize with satisfaction that through the Graham Baker Studentship the campus life of the new institution is still further linked up with the very beginnings of the

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Rice foundation. Before there was any Rice campus, the young man whose name this scholarship bears died while a student in school preparing for one of the older universities. His grandfather, James A. Baker, had been the founder's legal adviser. His father, James A. Baker, Jr., has been chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Rice Institute from the date of its incorporation. The young man was preparing for a career in the profession of his fathers. Reared under the traditions of his Kentucky and Texas forebears, in a Christian home whose humanitarian influences have radiated through all the channels of the social, intellectual, and spiritual life of the city and commonwealth, this young son of the South was consistently proving worthy of his rich heritage. In the full flush of health and youthful ambition he was suddenly stricken and cut down. The great hope that went out with his passing is not to remain unfulfilled. The torch that dropped from his hand is to be caught up, relighted, carried in full flame, and passed on from generation to generation in the hands of the Graham Baker Students of Rice. And the imagination takes fire of inspiration from that flaming line of lights, far, far as eye can see, that shall keep living the memory of the lad long, long after the hands shall have become dust that now rear these structures of stone and spirit. Throughout the same long stretch of years, the students who strive for the torch and their comrades who applaud them in the striving will not only hold the donors in grateful remembrance, but also perpetuate in college tradition the affectionate regard in which Captain and Mrs. Baker have always been held by all members of the college.' "

"On gratefully accepting the gracious and generous gift of the Hohenthal Scholarship Fund in memory of the mother, father, and brother of the late Lionel Hohenthal, of Hous-

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ton, which has been offered by Mr. William M. Rice, Jr., in execution of a clause in the last will and testament of Mr. Hohenthal directing his administrator to devote the residue of his estate to the founding of an appropriate philanthropic memorial to the testator's mother, father, and brother, the Trustees of the Rice Institute adopted a minute in recognition of this beneficent action and requested that the following transcription from their resolution be sent to Mr. Rice as a slight token in appreciation of this further service to the new university: 'In signalizing this unique gift the Trustees are touched alike by the circumstances of its bestowal and the character of the man whose name it bears. They recall that a few years before his death Mr. Hohenthal had retired from a long and successful business career in Houston. Of gentle manners and quiet pursuits, he was greatly beloved of his intimates, and highly esteemed by all who knew him. It was characteristic of the modesty and temper of his life that to a life-long friend he should have accorded the privilege of devising a fitting memorial to his nearest of kin. And it would seem to be singularly in keeping with the interests of his well ordered life that to an institution of learning should be entrusted the means whereby he sought to preserve in living memory, not himself, but his mother, father, and brother. Nor will his example of filial devotion fail of emulation by the Rice undergraduates, some of whom directly, and all indirectly, are to share in the benefits of Mr. Hohenthal's benefaction to their alma mater. And in their local traditions of song and story the students and scholars will also pay tribute to the donor's fine tribute to friendship, and celebrate another instance¹ of his friend's friendly interest in the college.' "

¹ See the Preliminary Announcements of the Rice Institute for the academic year beginning September nineteenth, nineteen hundred and seventeen, where appears the first announcement of Mr. Rice's personal gift of

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"Accepting the generous offer of Mrs. Estelle Boughton Sharp to provide for the establishment and endowment of the Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy and to secure under this lectureship four annual scholarships, the Trustees of the Rice Institute request the donor to receive as a slight token in appreciation of her benefaction this transcription from a minute which the Trustees have adopted: 'In grateful acknowledgment of the donation of the first endowed lectureship in the history of the new university, and of the associated scholarships under this lectureship, the Trustees recognize with satisfaction the foundation of a new department for the training of southern social workers for social welfare work in the South, and thereupon the expansion of the university's educational pro-

the Rice Trophy Cabinet, which has been acknowledged by the Trustees in a resolution engrossed on parchment as follows: "On gratefully accepting the handsome gift which Mr. William Marsh Rice, Jr., has made the university in providing the Rice Trophy Cabinet for the preservation of cups, medals, prizes, and other emblems of student contests, intramural and intercollegiate, the Trustees of the Rice Institute request the donor to receive as a slight token in appreciation of his beneficent action this transcription from a minute which the Trustees have adopted: 'In expressing their warm thanks to their colleague for the beautiful and useful trophy cabinet which he has presented to the college, the Trustees desire also to congratulate him on the very successful form in which his idea has been executed by the combined efforts of architect and artisan. Designed in harmony with the æsthetic lines of the Institute's development, of ample dimensions, in the most seasoned of durable materials, without bolt or binding joint, its carvings still further protected by overlays of gold leaf and enamel, this worthy example of American artistic and mechanic skill may reasonably be expected to survive the wear of time for many a thousand years. Until it shall have found its appropriate and permanent place in the exhibition room of the future gymnasium and stadium of the university, the Trustees have directed that it be temporarily housed in the first of the Institute's buildings and within easy access to all visitors to the campus. Of its many details even the most casual observer will note with interest the illuminated shields of Rice, Texas, and the United States, the carved effigies of the founder of the Institute in the dress of his mature years, that of the donor of the cabinet in the garb of his own favorite outdoor sport, the ancient and honorable game of golf, and the representations in costume of participants in the major sports of football, rowing, baseball, tennis, basketball, and track. And all observers will remark in the gift itself, not only the donor's fine tribute to the doctrine of a sound body for the sound mind, but also the passing on, to the undergraduates of Rice, of American traditions in college sport which were at their beginnings in the period of his own undergraduate days as a distinguished member of a famous class, the Princeton class of seventy-nine.'"

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gramme along lines of usefulness for which immediate provision could not otherwise have been made. There is thus to be continued and developed at the Rice Institute, work undertaken by the Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy, which was organized and incorporated a few years ago under Mrs. Sharp's leadership. The good will of the earlier organization goes with her splendid gift to the Institute, and with the inauguration of the new work at Rice the Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy dissolves. Throughout its career the latter institution enjoyed cordial coöperation on the part of members of the faculty of the Rice Institute: Mr. Caldwell was chairman of the board of trustees, Mr. Ward, a trustee, and Mr. Axson, a member of the advisory committee, while Messrs. Edwards, Miller, Tsanoff, and Watkin also gave courses of lectures: accordingly, the merging of the Texas School appears as a very natural stage in the development of its work, while at the same time Mrs. Sharp's further initiative in civics and philanthropy serves to enrich, and on the side of the social sciences, the scientific programme of this university of liberal and technical learning. To all friends of the university it comes as a most heartening and auspicious omen that this noble gentlewoman, universally known for her philanthropic work on which she is daily bent in quietness, confidence, and strength, should have singled out this new institution as a permanent ally in that humanitarian endeavor. And to all lovers of humanity it is a most cheering prospect to see, that, much earlier than could have been anticipated, the Rice Institute, through Mrs. Sharp's beneficent action, is about to realize its early hope of participating in the advancement of humanitarian movements in city, or state, or nation, or world.' "

The Trustees of the Institute take great pleasure in an-

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nouncing that the following four gentlemen of Houston, namely, Messrs. Joseph S. Cullinan, Will C. Hogg, Abe M. Levy, and John T. Scott, have accepted Mrs. Sharp's invitation to provide for the current academic year the four scholarships in civics and philanthropy which she has undertaken to secure annually under the Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy.

III

FIRST AWARDS OF ENDOWED SCHOLARSHIPS

THE scholarships provided by these several foundations have been awarded for the academic year 1918-19 to the following students of the Rice Institute: ¹

GRAHAM BAKER STUDENT

MAURINE MILLS, Class 1920, of Houston, Texas

HOHENTHAL SCHOLARS

LUCILLE A. BRAND, Class 1920, of Houston, Texas

STEWART P. COLEMAN, Class 1920, of Corpus Christi,
Texas

GEORGIA W. COMFORT, Class 1920, of Dallas, Texas

JAMES L. C. MCFADDIN, Class 1921, of Beaumont, Texas

JOSEPH R. SHANNON, Class 1920, of LaPorte, Texas

TRACY Y. THOMAS, Class 1921, of Little Rock, Arkansas

SCHOLARS IN CIVICS AND PHILANTHROPY

HELEN B. BARBER, B.A. (Rice), of Houston, Texas

DOROTHY G. FITZGERALD, Grad. C.I.A., of Morrill, Texas

MARGUERITE E. JOHN, Class 1919, of Houston, Texas

CHRISTINE O. SCHULTZ, B.A. (Rice), of Houston, Texas

To unfailing industry and good faith I call these scholars and all their fellows in words which Isaac Barrow, one of the great masters of Trinity College, Cambridge, addressed

¹ For the conditions under which these scholarships are awarded the reader is referred to a note on three gifts to the Rice Institute in the Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. V, No. 3, July, 1918, pages 153-158 inclusive.

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to the scholars of that college two hundred and fifty years ago:

“How, being slothful in our business, can we answer for our violating the wills, for abusing the goodness, for perverting the charity and bounty of our worthy founders and benefactors, who gave us the good things we enjoy, not to maintain us in idleness, but for supports and encouragements of our industry? how can we excuse ourselves from dishonesty and perfidious dealing, seeing that we are admitted to these enjoyments under condition and upon confidence (confirmed by our free promises and most solemn engagements) of using them according to their pious intent, that is, in a diligent prosecution of our studies; in order to the service of God and of the public?

“Let every scholar, when he misspendeth an hour, or sluggeth on his bed, but imagine that he heareth the voice of those glorious kings, or venerable prelates, or worthy gentlemen, complaining thus and rating him: ‘Why, sluggard, dost thou against my will possess my estate? Why dost thou presume to occupy the place due to an industrious person? Why dost thou forget or despise thy obligations to my kindness? Thou art an usurper, a robber, or a purloiner of my goods; which I never intended for such as thee: I challenge thee of wrong to myself, and of sacrilege to my God, to whose service I devoted those his gifts to me.’

“How reproachful will it be to us if that expostulation may concern us. ‘Wherefore is there a price in the hand of a fool to get wisdom, seeing he hath no heart to it?’ ”

IV

CHARGE TO THE FRESHMAN CLASS

THUS the wise man in proverb and the college master in precept, and more lately the student soldier in practice. We are all reading soldiers' letters: some of them at first hand, others through friends, and still many others in print. I had lately the privilege of reading such letters addressed to a father by his son and one of the latter's classmates. The young men were aboard an American battleship in foreign waters. They had been recommended for promotion earned in the service. Arduous as had been their duties, they still had had time for reading. And they were reading. They had learned to read at Rice. And what do you suppose they were reading? They were reading books on history, law and political philosophy they had picked up from port to port. Laying out anew their fundamental principles, they wrote, for the days of reconstruction that shall follow in the wake of these days of conflict. Recalling with appreciation and renewed understanding, they said, courses in these subjects which they had followed at Rice, under the direction and tutelage of Professors Guérard and Tsanoff, Axson and Caldwell.

And as I read I recalled three lines from another soldier. This time a post-card from the first Rice Bachelor of Arts to reach the Western Front. He, too, had been thrilled by the tasks of the place, and spurred to achieve by their spirit. He, too, had been touched by the art of the place, and lured to achieve by its spirit. He had lived under the noble archi-

ture of his university—architecture established by Dr. Ralph Adams Cram, and its traditions maintained in the instruction of Professor Watkin and his associates, Messrs. Tidden and Chillman. He had read great poetry in college. He had heard the music Houston's music-loving women had brought to Houston. He had himself sung the songs of many composers. He had attended the exhibitions of the Houston Art League. Hear his complaint. "On a week's furlough," he wrote on the back of a print from Versailles. "Old buildings fine, but Paris all changed. The Louvre is closed!" "The Louvre is closed!" Such was the inspiration he sought to carry him over the top. And he did well so to seek, for men can no more win battles on empty souls than they can fight them on empty stomachs.

Such are the first words to reach me from the first Rice men to reach the battle line. In the meantime these forerunners have been joined by a host, for, notwithstanding the circumstances that we began only in the autumn of 1912, and then with a single class of fifty-nine members, one-third of whom were women, and year by year have added but one class annually, with men and women in that same proportion, there are four hundred stars on our student service flag, and four hundred other men on the ground preparing for officers' commissions. Moreover, our professor of English is National Secretary of the American Red Cross, loaned to that organization for the duration of the war; our professor of French is in the American Army on the Western Front; our professor of German is with the American Forces on the Western Front; our professor of mathematics is on the Italian Front; our professor of physics is directing the work of several hundred men in an experimental laboratory of the United States Navy; our assistant

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professor of biology is on the Italian Front; our assistant professor of chemistry is in charge of a government laboratory with sixty researchers under him; our assistant professor of mathematics is with the ordnance department; our assistant professor of physical education is directing the athletic activities of Camp Logan; our assistant professor of physics is off the coast of England with a crew of thirty men; in addition, some ten or a dozen junior members are on leaves of absence in government service. Furthermore, to every man and woman of us on the ground war service in some form or other has come, and the opportunity been taken advantage of cheerfully. And, however much we may have deplored the necessity, we have nevertheless rejoiced in all these opportunities.

It is precisely such opportunities, ladies and gentlemen of the Freshman Class, men and women of 1922, that bring you to college this autumn. From year to year it has been my privilege to send your predecessors forth to the tasks of this place under a charge or a call or a challenge. This year you have come to college at your country's call—the women to take the cross, the men to take the sword—challenged by your country's peril, charged with your country's defense. You have heeded the call, you accept the charge, you will meet the challenge. Not all of you will remain here long. Some of you may never return. Many of you may be numbered with those who "laid the world away; poured out the red sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be of work and joy." All of you can and will take with me a pledge, the pledge and promise of a gallant gentleman, the late Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice—in whose personality lived the very soul of the allied cause—the honor of Belgium, the gallantry of France, the spirit of England, the heroism of Italy in the Alpine glaciers, the loyalty of Japan in the East,

the high hopes of America in the West. And this was his pledge—

“I vow to thee, my country—all earthly things above—
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love—
The love that asks no question; the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best;
The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.

“And there’s another country, I’ve heard of long ago—
Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know.
We may not count her armies; we may not see her King;
Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering;
And soul by soul and silently, her shining bounds increase,
And her ways are ways of gentleness and all her paths are Peace.”

STUDENTS ARMY TRAINING CORPS

I

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

ON the lawn adjoining the academic quadrangle the Students Army Training Corps¹ of the Rice Institute assembled for the first time on October 1st, 1918, at eleven o'clock in the morning. Under a bugler's call "To the Colors," the prospective members were drawn up in hollow square formation. In the presence of the Trustees, Faculty, friends, and students of Rice, these four hundred men took the pledge of allegiance—"I pledge allegiance to my flag, and the Republic for which it stands; one nation, indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all"—following phrase by phrase the lead of the commanding officer, Colonel

¹ Immediately on the entrance of the United States into the European War the Rice Institute petitioned the War Department, under the National Defense Act of June 3rd, 1916, to establish an infantry unit of the Reserve Officers Training Corps, senior division, at the Rice Institute. Despite the fact that upon the declaration of war the War Department discontinued the establishing of further units of the R. O. T. C., the Rice Institute's application was, on recommendation of the Chief of Staff, granted by special dispensation of the Secretary of War. The first act towards the actual establishment of the Rice unit was made by the War Department on May 12th, 1917, by the detailing of Major Joseph Frazier, United States Army, retired, as professor of military science and tactics at this institution. Major Frazier reported promptly for duty, and effected a military organization of the students. He was relieved on October 9th, 1917, by Captain Taylor M. Reagan, United States Army, retired. Captain Reagan, having received permission from the War Department to assume duties as major of a regiment of the Texas National Guard, was relieved on September 1st, 1918, by Colonel Charles J. Crane, United States Army, retired.

Under the revised plans of the War Department, the Rice unit of the R. O. T. C., senior division, is being this autumn absorbed in the Rice unit of the S. A. T. C., college section. The present military personnel of the Rice S. A. T. C. consists of Colonel Charles J. Crane, United States Army, retired, Commanding Officer; Captain R. W. Knight, Supply Officer; Captain Smith S. Mullin, Medical Officer; 1st Lieutenant Nathan Zoglin, Medical Reserve Corps; 2nd Lieutenant Emanuel J. Coyle, Personnel Adjutant; and 2nd Lieutenants Bentley F. Adams, Marvin Eickenroht, Lothrop F. Follett, and King Vivion.

Charles J. Crane, United States Army, retired, who, before reading the official orders of the day, and messages from the President of the United States, the Acting Secretary of War, and the Chief of Staff, addressed the assemblage in the following words:

“At this very hour to-day in five hundred colleges of the country, located in every State of the Union, the same ceremony which we are holding is taking place. Here and at the other five hundred colleges the organization of the Students Army Training Corps is being completed by the reading of the same orders from Washington and by the taking of the oath of allegiance to the flag.

“What does the flag represent that we should swear allegiance to it? Gentlemen, the flag represents our country. And this any man who leaves his country knows and feels whenever he sees his flag, the flag of his country. In such circumstances a man’s feeling towards the flag of his country is appropriately described by Sir Walter Scott’s well-known lines:

‘Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
“This is my own, my native land!”
Whose heart hath ne’er within him burn’d
As home his footsteps he hath turn’d
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no Minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonour’d, and unsung.’

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If a man is a true patriot, such should be his feelings towards the man who does not love his country; nor can any man be a patriot who feels otherwise. And on coming in sight of his own country, when returning from a foreign shore, he is sure to have the feelings Sir Walter Scott describes. Such is the soldier's experience.

"Moreover, we of the Army, we soldiers, feel towards our flag and our country exactly as Stephen Decatur felt when he said in a toast:

'My Country! may she always be right!
But, right or wrong, My Country!'

"Gentlemen, Sir Walter Scott and Stephen Decatur have described how we feel towards our flag and our country, and that is why we are to-day, at five hundred different colleges, swearing allegiance to the flag, which represents our country."

II

ORDERS OF THE DAY

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, D. C.
October 1st, 1918.

GENERAL ORDERS OF THE DAY

1. This day has a peculiar significance for more than five hundred colleges and universities throughout the United States. It is witnessing the organization of a new and powerful instrument for the winning of the war,—the Students Army Training Corps. The patriotism of American educational institutions is demonstrated to the world by the effective and convincing manner in which they are supporting this far-reaching plan to hasten the mobilization and training of the armies of the United States.

2. It is most fitting that this day, which will be remembered in American history, should be observed in a manner appropriate to its significance, and to the important aims and purposes of the Students Army Training Corps. Each commanding officer of a unit of the Students Army Training Corps will, therefore, with the coöperation of the President and Faculty of the institution where his command is stationed, arrange a programme for the proper observance of this day, when more than one hundred and fifty thousand American college students offer themselves for induction in the Students Army Training Corps, pledging themselves to the honor and defense of their country.

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3. This corps is organized by direction of the President of the United States under authority of the following General Orders:

War Department
Washington, August 24, 1918.

GENERAL ORDERS }
No. 79 }

Under the authority conferred by Sections 1, 2, 8 and 9 of the Act of Congress "authorizing the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, the President directs that for the period of the existing emergency there shall be raised and maintained by voluntary induction and draft, a Students Army Training Corps. Units of this corps will be authorized by the Secretary of War at educational institutions that meet the requirements laid down in Special Regulations.

4. The United States Army Training Detachments established at educational institutions by the Committee on Education and Special Training are this day merged with the Students Army Training Corps. For purposes of administration only, the corps has been divided into the Collegiate Section and the Vocational Section. There is no distinction between soldiers of these sections. All are soldiers, and their identity is merged in the United States Army. All have equal opportunities to win promotion, each soldier's progress depending entirely upon his own individual industry and ability.

5. Orders have been issued whereby assemblies of all units of the corps are being held simultaneously at more than five hundred colleges and universities. *At this moment*, over

one hundred and fifty thousand of your comrades throughout the nation are standing at attention in recognition of their new duties as soldiers of the United States.

6. Soldiers of the Students Army Training Corps: All of the forces of the nation are now being concentrated on the winning of the war. In this great task you are now called to take your proper place. The part which you will play, as members of this corps, will contribute definitely and in a vital manner to the triumph of our cause. Your opportunities are exceptional and your responsibilities correspondingly great. Honor and the privilege of national service lie before you. Grasp your opportunity. Strive for the common goal. WIN THE WAR.

By direction of the Committee on Education and Special Training:

R. I. REES,
Colonel, General Staff Corps, Chairman.

III
MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES, THE ACTING SEC-
RETARY OF WAR, AND THE
CHIEF OF STAFF

THE step you have taken is a most significant one. By it you have ceased to be merely individuals, each seeking to perfect himself to win his own place in the world, and have become comrades in the common cause of making the world a better place to live in. You have joined yourselves with the entire manhood of the country and pledged, as did your forefathers, "your lives, your fortunes and your sacred honor" to the freedom of humanity.

The enterprise upon which you have embarked is a hazardous and difficult one. This is not a war of words; this is not a scholastic struggle. It is a war of ideals, yet fought with all the devices of science and with the power of machines. To succeed you must not only be inspired by the ideals for which this country stands, but you must also be masters of the technique with which the battle is fought. You must not only be thrilled with zeal for the common welfare, but you must also be masters of the weapons of to-day.

There can be no doubt of the issue. The spirit that is revealed and the manner in which America has responded to the call is indomitable. I have no doubt that you too will use your utmost strength to maintain that spirit and to carry it forward to the final victory that will certainly be ours.

WOODROW WILSON.

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As college students you are accustomed to contests of physical force. You are familiar with the tedious training and self-sacrificing discipline that are required to develop a team that can win the game. You know that the contest is won by team work, push, enthusiastic coöperation with one another and coördination of every individual talent to the single purpose of common success.

In the military struggle in which you are about to enter, the same conditions prevail. In order to succeed many weeks of thoroughgoing training and drill are essential to develop the coördination of skill and imagination that is essential to achieve the vast and vital end to which the country has pledged its every effort. The fighting machine will come into effective working order more rapidly in proportion as each individual in it devotes his full attention to the particular service for which he is best qualified. In entering upon this training as student soldiers you have the opportunity of developing your abilities to the point where they will be most effective in the common struggle. I am sure that you will do this in the same spirit and with the same enthusiasm that you have always exhibited in the lesser struggles to which you have been accustomed to devote your energies. I am sure that you will rise to this opportunity and show that America, the home of the pioneer, the inventor and the master of machines, is ready and able to turn its every energy to the construction of an all-powerful military machine, which will prove as effective in liberating men as have the reaper, the aëroplane and the telephone.

BENEDICT CROWELL,
Acting Secretary of War.

The Students Army Training Corps has been organized to assist in training a body of men from whom the United

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States will draw officer material in large numbers. The need for these officers is one of the most imperative connected with our large army programme, and patriotic young men will be given an opportunity to acquire this training with the knowledge that they will thus be enabled to better serve their country in the great drive which is to come. Superior leadership spells success in war and it is the duty of every member of the Student Officers Training Corps to do his utmost to qualify as a leader of men.

PEYTON C. MARCH,
General, Chief of Staff, United States Army.

IV

ADDRESS TO THE RICE CORPS

THIS is a time for work and not for words; yet I welcome an opportunity of attempting to frame in words what you yourselves are feeling on this occasion. By solemn and formal renewal of a pledge to which you were born, you have consecrated to the cause of freedom all that you are and all that you hope to be. By this solemn act, we become crusaders in a common cause, knights of a new chivalry, champions of a cherished civilization; and to the high purposes of our avowal we are impelled by every instinct, every influence, every inspiration of our history. Three things have been in the background of every civilization,—the instinct of race, the influence of war, and the inspiration of religion. It was so with the Greeks: in the instincts of a peculiar people, in the influence of the Hellenic wars, in the inspiration of the Homeric poems. It was so with the Jews: in the instincts of a chosen people, in wars for national integrity, in songs of psalmists, and shoutings of prophets. It has been so with America: in our Anglo-Saxon instincts for freedom, in our wars of independence, in our reverence for Christian institutions.

In America you have come to college this autumn at your country's call, for the country is calling men to college. Even as it called them to the colors, the country is now calling men to college. Go to college! Return to college! are not the mere seasonable exhortations of college presidents: they are governmental slogans: they are emergency orders from the national government. If you are in college, remain there!

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If you are ready for college, report there! A year ago these orders read, Enlist and report at camp! To-day, as issued to the properly prepared, they read, Enlist and return to college!

There's a reason for this. There are many reasons. For us in America, education had become a spiritual aspiration akin to religion. As a people, we were more in accord about education than we were in agreement either in politics or in religion. More lately our educational achievements have proved to be a national asset, indeed a material asset, of the first order. In the national extremity, the country called for men. The response of the college men was immediate. No class of our countrymen responded more promptly. The response was general. The record of results is equally gratifying, for out of all proportion to their numbers these college men have come into positions of great responsibility. The call continues. And clear, insistent, weariless, is the call. Their places must be filled. The columns from college to camp and from camp to coast must be kept continuous and complete, not only unbroken columns for Army and Navy, but also unbroken columns of engineers and architects, unbroken columns of physicians and surgeons, unbroken columns of chaplains and nurses, and a thousand other unbroken columns of skilled civilians. The government is coming to the rescue and assistance of the colleges, by providing a plan whereby college men can, with honor and in all good conscience, complete their civilian training and simultaneously prepare for efficient active service in the sky, active service on the land, active service on the sea, or, in virtue of the enemy's methods, active service under the waters of the seas.

And all this to the end that civilization may be saved alive, by saving the country alive, by saving the colleges alive, by

saving the church alive. Nor will the colleges fail the country. They are preparing for universal service now, "that the world may be made safe for democracy"; they are providing for universal education then, that democracy may be made safe for the world. However wracked and wrenched by the war, the world will be neither permanently wrecked nor ruined. Civilization will survive. In the meantime, we are all on trial. Daily caught up in great affairs, we are daily passing through momentous crises. Every man is on trial. Every institution is on trial. Every enterprise of the human spirit is put to the test. Patriotism, education and religion are put to the test. Love for country, the essence of patriotism, love of learning, the essence of education, love for all conditions of mankind, the essence of religion—all are being put to the test. We have stomachs for the trial. We have strength for the test. In the day of our visitation we shall not fail.

I have been writing under the stirring events of the last eighty days. At the moment two men stand out against the sky of every horizon—Woodrow Wilson, in Washington; Ferdinand Foch, at the front. Statesman and soldier—generalissimo of the allied forces of the west, spokesman of the free nations of the world. Marshal Foch, until lately professor of military science in Paris; President Wilson, formerly professor of jurisprudence and politics at Princeton. Each a professor called to practice. Each a student of affairs become a man of affairs. Each a man of thought called to action. Each trained to think, and therefore trusted in action. Each in a place earned by his deeds—deeds of thought and deeds of action—the one by service in the field and in the study, the other by service in the study and on the forum. Praise of these men were an unpardonable impertinence on my part, but their careers are among

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the reasons why young Americans are heeding the country's call to college.

In this connection we may perhaps remind ourselves of a singularly significant fact in our more recent civil history, namely, the fact that the leading candidates in the last four national campaigns were all college graduates: Roosevelt, of Harvard, the oldest American college; Taft, of Yale, the next oldest college; Wilson, of Princeton, the third American college in age; and Hughes, of Brown, whose sesquicentennial was lately celebrated. Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Hughes are some of the reasons why patriotic young Americans are heeding the country's call to college.

In conclusion, I turn from America's leaders of the present to America's potential leaders of the future. Gentlemen of Rice, I salute you, as you salute the flag. Four hundred strong, you are joining the ranks of the Rice men in service, ranks already nearly four hundred strong in volunteers from students and staff. I hail you as conquering crusaders, champions of the common weal of men and nations. The flag you salute has never been dipped in surrender. You will carry it to victory, nor will you rest until you have carried it to victory, for I confidently expect you, under the Homeric rubric of Rice, over here and over there,

"To win renown,
To stand the first in worth as in command;
To add new honours to your native land;
Before your eyes your mighty sires to place,
And emulate the glories of our race."

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION¹

I

ATMOSPHERE OF THE RICE ASSOCIATION

EVERY age has its key-note. Our age has its key-note. In the midst of these death-dealing days, the great key-note is life—better life for the millions of men, better life also for the leaders of men developed from those millions of men. Only recall the headlines and captions, Art and Life, Literature and Life, Religion and Life, Philosophy and Life, Science and Life. These are indicative of a new realism that would relate letters and science, politics and religion, art and philosophy, to life. Not to life in the abstract, but to life in the concrete. To your life and to my life. To the life of “doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief, rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief.” To the life of each of these, not as a thinking, or a feeling, or a willing being, but to his life as a feeling, thinking, willing being. To his mental life, to his physical life, to his spiritual life. And if all the ideas of mind, if all the experience of humankind, were blotted out, and there remained alone the four terms in your title—Youth and Woman and Christianity and Association—we could still believe in Life and Freedom and Progress and Civilization. And fight for them as we are all fighting for them now.

¹ Remarks made at the autumn opening meeting of the Rice Young Women's Christian Association, October 3rd, 1918.

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The manifold activities of the Young Women's Christian Association, in the large, converge to points of education, social service, and religion. From each of these points the local association may radiate influence on the life of the university, an influence that will accordingly be either educational, social, or religious in character. Whatever your programme, the third element of this triad you will not neglect, whether as members of the organization or as individuals. You will read the Book. You will pray at your work. You will live in the hope of immortality. It is thus that religion as the crown of your life will shine through the work of the Association. And the considerations which I am about to recapitulate may help to sustain you in that work. They will at least indicate the presence of a congenial atmosphere for just such work to thrive in.

The plans for the development of the Rice Institute have, I believe, been informed by a broad and generous spirit. To the religious aspect of that spirit we have sought to give expression in several forms: first, in reserving in the building programme of the Institute a large tract on the campus for the future chapel of the university; second, in the inscriptions cut in stone on its first buildings which every one who runs may read; third, in the place given to religion at the formal exercises held in dedication of the Institute and at the formal convocations of the new university; fourth, in the immediate formation and fostering, in the original student body, of local branches of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Menorah Society; fifth, in the care with which at the beginning of each session letters have been sent to representative clergymen of every denomination in the city giving the names and addresses of all students who either through parental association or that of direct membership had indicated a

preference for that particular religious communion, thus encouraging relationships by which every new student may promptly find a church home in the city.

Several remarks of the preceding paragraph I venture to take up in detail. Above the inscription on the corner-stone of the first building appear the words Anno Domini MDCDXI, and beneath the same inscription appears the name of Eusebius Pamphili, the first historian of the Church, through whose *Præparatio Evangelica* that inscription has come down to us; a second inscription on the same building is Job's "Speak to the earth and it shall teach thee," while a third is Plotinus's "Love, beauty, joy, and worship are forever building, unbuilding, and rebuilding in each man's soul." Among the more elaborate carvings are conventional heads of St. Paul and Michelangelo and rather long quotations from the Book of Proverbs and the Book of Wisdom. At the formal opening four clergymen, from San Francisco, Austin, Memphis, and Princeton, respectively, had official places on the programme, while among the official representatives there were many present from denominational colleges and universities; in particular the Catholic University of America sent a distinguished delegate, and the Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning, an elaborate address. Moreover, the exercises of those eventful days in October, 1912, culminated in a union religious service at the City Auditorium in which all the clergymen and congregations of the city had been cordially invited to participate. We have always had pleasure in saying that this cordial invitation of the Trustees of the Institute met with hearty response on the part of the clergy and the community. It may be doubted whether any religious event in the history of the city has been more significant than was that union service of consecration and dedication on Sunday, October 13th, 1912.

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The first commencement sermon was preached in June, 1916, by Peter Gray Sears, Rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Houston. In the diplomas, awarded for the first time on that occasion, the phrase *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* follows a recital of the objects of the Foundation. The sermon of the second annual commencement in June, 1917, was delivered by George W. Truett, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Dallas. The sermon at the last June commencement was preached by J. G. K. McClure, of Chicago, President of McCormick Theological Seminary. These sermons have from year to year been given wide distribution through publication in the Rice Institute Pamphlet.

II

SOME RELATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY

I HAVE had several occasions to say, from platforms and in the press of the city, that, in my judgment, the strength of the Rice Foundation lies in its freedom. As a matter of fact, to his trustees, a self-perpetuating board of seven life members, the founder gave great freedom in the interpretation of his programme and corresponding discretion in the execution of its plans. The trustees have accordingly approached their problems of organization, policy, and aim, without educational prejudice to stultify, without partisan bias to hinder, without sectarian authority to satisfy, with open minds accustomed to large problems, with clear heads experienced in tracking the minutest details of business, always ready to reason together, steady and conscientious in reaching conclusions, quick and decisive in action when through common counsel they have come to a common mind respecting any line of action. And in their freedom the trustees are building for the founder a university whose greatest strength likewise is in its freedom: in the freedom of its faculties of science, humanity, and technology to teach and to search—each man a freeman to teach the truth as he finds it, each man a freeman to seek the truth wherever truth may lead: in the freedom to serve the State because entangled in no way with the government of the State, and the freedom to serve the Church because vexed by none of the sectarian differences that disturb the heart of the Church.

While we rejoice in our freedom from Church or State control, we rejoice none the less in the work of these funda-

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mental and indispensable agencies of civilization, for we can conceive of no university in whose life there do not appear the energy and enthusiasm, the affection and the calm, that we associate in one way or another with reverence, patriotism, politics, and religion. Hence to us, quite as important as is a university's freedom from control by State or Church, are its right relations to each of these two institutions, because upon principles of order, conduct, and knowledge is based our faith in the capacity of the human spirit for progress, and without such basic faith all theories of education become either confused or futile. As a matter of fact, the three fundamental principles I have just named—order, conduct, knowledge—find expression in the forms of three great institutions—the State, the Church, and the University. These institutions themselves are not fixed and final but fluid and forming, constantly in the flow of change—in movement of transition sometimes retrograde—constantly in the flow of change to meet new requirements of a changing world and a growing humanity. In their present mutual relations, the State, the master of the sword and peace; the Church, the guardian of the soul and purity; the University, the servant of each of them in preserving to men the mastery of their spirits. The State guaranteeing to the University intellectual freedom, to the Church religious freedom; the University in freedom of thought and research constantly enriching the State with the theory of its own greatness, constantly recalling the Church to the theories of life wherein all men are made free; the Church in its turn sustaining the Nation and supporting the University in high ideals of progress and ultimate triumph. Moreover, testing any programme for better uses of life and leisure by a double criterion,—Is it based on an understanding of the ways of men and the needs of humankind? and, Does it appeal

to the understanding of men?—the new university would seek, while preserving its own freedom and independence, to assist in the advancement of humanitarian movements in State or Nation or world. This humanitarian aspect of university service, as differentiated from the more strictly scholastic and scientific activities of university life, appearing under newer forms comparatively recently in the so-called university settlements and in the university extension movement, finds its latest phases in coöperative unions for world-wide programmes of scientific investigation on the one hand, and, on the other, in the organized movements for the improvement of good will and the promotion of peace among the nations. In such united efforts the new institution would participate, for in its future days it is to be a university of Texas, a university of the South, and later, let us hope, in reality as in aspiration, one among the national institutions, reflecting the national mind, one among the universities of the nations, fostering the international mind and spirit in cosmopolitan ways such as the mediæval universities enjoyed before the death of universal language and the divisions in a universal Church.

And the building of a great university is just like the living of a great life. Each calls for the intellect, energy, courage, and independence that characterize the other. The institution outlives the individual, and the university has proved to be about the most enduring of human institutions. Think of the changes in church and state which have been weathered by the spires of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, and Padua, Salamanca, Bologna, Harvard, and Princeton! Accordingly, we may assure ourselves with considerable confidence that so long as men love learning, so long will the university flourish. So long as men seek truth will the spirit and service of science endure. And in beauty

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and holiness, religion and art will outlast them all. These are the elements of a civilization that traces its origins to Palestine and Greece, and finds its sources in the mingling of streams from Athens and Sion through Rome. Three main currents of that civilization—the Rise of Christianity, the Revival of Learning, the Rise of Modern Science—each in its turn the new knowledge in conflict temporarily with the old, have contributed to the common knowledge of cultivated persons in all civilized communities.

These currents flow on. They gain in volume and in value to mankind as they flow. In their waters are reflected many views of the universe. One of these views reveals observation, experiment, and knowledge, in science; another relates duty and deity and destiny, in religion. Each of these—the religious and the scientific aspects of the universe—has its own beauty, power of inspiration, and truth. Each shines with a light the more wonderful, the more resolutely we set ourselves to study it. Each is a kindly, leading light, each beckons to a better life, each fades away imperceptibly into the other, as multitudes of men and women have found to the illumination of their own souls. For, in our day there are multitudes of men and women who combine in the same personality a sympathetic comprehension of modern science with a profound and reverent faith, and who find that the acceptance of the teachings of science in no wise disturbs their personal religious life.

ASPECTS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

I

CAMBRIDGE VIEWS ON THE FUNDAMENTALS¹

THE War has set the world to taking stock of enterprise, of resource, of men. Challenged by the conflict, civilization has challenged in turn the stewards of her spiritual strength. All have been called to account. In particular, philosophy, history, science, and religion have been called to account, for failure to foresee or forewarn, to forearm and forestall. Most favorably viewed, the conflict is a clash of ideals. Each ideal had inspired a philosophy, each inherited a history, each invented a science, each invoked a religion, each informed a society. It was the bees and the ants and the wasps against freedom, fair play, and the flowering of spirit. It was the soulless machine against millions of souls.

These five and twenty Cambridge essays are in a way inventories incident to such taking of stock. They survey the fields of educational tradition and of modern research. They are calm surveys on the part of experienced teachers, administrators, and scientific investigators. They are philosophic surveys, reappraising old values and assessing new ones. They are mining surveys into permanent elements of "educational theory and motive." They are deep-sea soundings to the foundations of educational reform, readjustment, and reconstruction, that lie below all controversy.

"Mere current controversial topics," says the Master of Magdalene in his preface, "we have attempted to avoid, and to encourage our contributors to define as far as possible the aim and outlook of education, as the word is now interpreted." Similarly, in his preface the Master of Downing writes: "Schemes of reform and reconstruction formulated under the present abnormal conditions are apt to be hastily conceived and ill-proportioned. To be successful they must be based on the firm

¹ "Science and the Nation," Essays by Cambridge Graduates with an Introduction by the Right Hon. Lord Moulton, K.C.B., F.R.S., edited by A. C. Seward, F.R.S., Master of Downing College, Cambridge, pp. xxii + 328. Cambridge, University Press, 1917.

"Cambridge Essays on Education," edited by A. C. Benson, C.V.O., LL.D., Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, with an Introduction by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M., pp. xix + 232. Cambridge, University Press, 1918.

foundation of experience: it is the aim of these essays¹ to present the results of experience in scientific investigation, to illustrate by concrete examples the sources of progress in a few departments of knowledge and so make clear to the layman the position of research as a factor in national prosperity."

"The value of Essays such as these, dealing, broadly speaking, with the whole Realm of Science," writes Lord Moulton, himself Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman at Cambridge exactly fifty years ago, "is at the present moment difficult to overestimate. They will prove invaluable to those who seek to broaden the interest of our Nation in Scientific Research." Nor is this distinguished gentleman under any illusions when writing thus, for he goes on to say: "The word 'research' has of late years been used too frequently as little more than a cant phrase dear to educationalists but carrying with it no clear or definite meaning, and if there is any patent or latent hostility to research it is mainly due to the way in which the word has thus been treated by its self-styled champions. But (as I am glad to say is frequently the case even in the arena of legal conflicts) the blunders of the advocate have not been sufficient to hide the merits of his case. Not only thoughtful educated men but even the members of the general public are beginning to realize that it is to research in its proper significance that we owe the knowledge of the wealth of the world in which we are placed—of the power that is within our grasp."

Of equally "supreme importance to the progress of the nation," says

¹ I. "The National Importance of Chemistry," by W. J. Pope, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge. II. "Physical Research and the Way of its Application," by W. H. Bragg, F.R.S., Quain Professor of Physics in the University of London. III. "The Modern Science of Metals, Pure and Applied," by W. Rosenhain, F.R.S., Superintendent of the Department of Metallurgy and Metallurgical Chemistry in the National Physical Laboratory. IV. "Mathematics in Relation to Pure and Applied Science," by E. W. Hobson, F.R.S., Sadleirian Professor of Pure Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. V. "The Science of Botany and the Art of Intensive Cultivation," by F. W. Keeble, F.R.S., Director of the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens, Wisley. VI. "Science in Forestry," by W. Dawson, M.A., Reader in Forestry in the University of Cambridge. VII. "Systematized Plant Breeding," by R. H. Biffen, F.R.S., Professor of Agricultural Botany in the University of Cambridge. VIII. "An Agricultural War Problem," by T. B. Wood, M.A., Drapers Professor of Agriculture in the University of Cambridge. IX. "Geology as an Economic Science," by Herbert H. Thomas, Sc.D., Secretary of the Geological Society of London. X. "Medicine and Experimental Science," by F. Gowland Hopkins, F.R.S., Professor of Biochemistry in the University of Cambridge. XI. "The 'Specific Treatment' of Disease," by G. H. F. Nuttall, F.R.S., Quick Professor of Biology in the University of Cambridge. XII. "Flies and Disease," by G. S. Graham-Smith, M.D., University Lecturer in Hygiene in the University of Cambridge. XIII. "The Government of Subject Peoples," by W. H. R. Rivers, F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Viscount Bryce, the Oxford humanist and world-known publicist, in his introduction to the *Education Essays*,¹ "is the best talent it possesses." "What is wanted now is quality rather than quantity." "The problem is how to find the finest minds among the children of the country and bring them by adequate training to the highest efficiency." Nor does Lord Bryce suffer any illusions concerning that other word subjected nowadays to much ignoble use, for says he: "The 'efficiency' which is on every one's mouth cannot be extemporised by rushing hastily into action, however energetic. It is the fruit of patient and exact determination of and reflection upon the facts to be dealt with." "As respects those we have called the best minds," continues Lord Bryce, "there are three chief aims to be solved. One aim is to fit men to be at least explorers, even if not discoverers, in the fields of science and learning. A second is to fit them to be leaders in the field of action, leaders not only by their initiative and their diligence, but also by the power and the habit of turning a full stream of thought and knowledge upon whatever work they have to do. A third is to give them a taste for, and the habit of enjoying intellectual pleasures."

Research and efficiency, institutional and individual; training the exceptional few for leadership in thought and action in government, in commerce, in learning; training the energy of the many for the earning of an honorable livelihood and the enjoyment of leisure on terms heretofore vouchsafed only to the few; training the enthusiasm of all for the enlargement of human relations and the enforcement of human peace—these are some of the ends of education in a democracy encountered in the pages of these two volumes. They appear again and again. They are omens of hope illumining these dark days. If government with the consent of the governed should survive this war—and it will survive

¹ I. "The Aim of Educational Reform," by John Lewis Paton, M.A., High Master of Manchester Grammar School. II. "The Training of the Reason," by the Very Rev. William Ralph Inge, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's, Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and of Hertford College, Oxford. III. "The Training of the Imagination," by Arthur Christopher Benson, C.V.O., LL.D., Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge. IV. "Religion at School," by William Wyamar Vaughan, M.A., Master of Wellington College. V. "Citizenship," by Albert Mansbridge, M.A., Joint-Secretary of the Cambridge University Tutorial Classes Committee. VI. "The Place of Literature in Education," by Nowell Smith, M.A., Head Master of Sherborne School. VII. "The Place of Science in Education," by William Bateson, F.R.S., Director of the John Innes Horticultural Institution, Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. VIII. "Athletics," by Frederic Blagden Malin, M.A., Master of Haileybury College. IX. "The Use of Leisure," by John Haden Badley, M.A., Head Master of Bedales School. X. "Preparation for Practical Life," by Sir John David McClure, LL.D., D.Mus., Head Master of Mill Hill School. XI. "Teaching as a Profession," by Frank Roscoe, Secretary of the Teachers Registration Council.

with the last Anglo-Saxon—then some form of universal suffrage should follow; if universal suffrage, then *a fortiori* universal education, universal but not necessarily uniform, voluntary where possible, compulsory when necessary, competitive and selective always. These are conditions spreading the world over, by whatever names the furthering movements may be called.

A great protagonist of popular education has lately risen in England, an Oxford scholar and Sheffield administrator, the first professional educator to be made cabinet minister of education. And in his campaign speeches for the Education Act lately passed by Parliament, the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher has been ringing the changes on these ends of universal education. "Education," he has declared on appealing to the people, "is the art of drawing out of a man all that is best and most useful in him so that it may be employed to the advantage of the community and of himself as a member of it. We must regard it not as bearing fruit in the science and art of earning a livelihood alone, but as yielding the science and art of living. It is the means by which the individual citizen may be trained to make the best use of his innate qualities and the means by which the State may be enabled to make the best use of its citizens. Spiritually conceived, it is Plato's 'turning of the soul towards the light'; materially conceived, it is Napoleon's 'open career to talent.' In any case it is of great democratic interest, for indeed a wise democratic government is impossible without it." Nor does Mr. Fisher consent to the doctrine that "the State should pick out the genius from the gutter" and "leave the rest on the theory that the great majority of the human race are condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Accordingly the first and foremost problem of education becomes that of discovering and developing the leaders of democracy. The resolution of the problem is not simple. It is no less complex than that of life itself. Neither leadership nor law can be imposed from above; both must be inspired from within. If education is a drawing out and fostering process, it is also a searching out and finding process. "You will not find your highest capacity," to quote another Oxford humanist, Mr. John (now Viscount) Morley,—"you will not find your highest capacity in statesmanship nor in practical science, nor in art, nor in any other field where that capacity is most urgently needed for the right service of life, unless there is a general and vehement spirit of search in the air." This "general and vehement spirit of search" is the chief contribution made by the science and scholarship of the nineteenth century to the educational problem of the present. It is fresh and clear in the study of the natural sciences, it is equally clear and fresh in the newer spirit of

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classical studies.¹ In seeking character and ability, it reckons primarily with "faculty and aptitude," reprehending alike compulsory science and compulsory humanities. When it comes to the testing of theories, there may be quite as much of the scientific spirit in a classical seminar as in a science laboratory, but recent events have inevitably thrust the natural sciences and the modern humanities into the foreground. To this America was already aroused and England has wakened up. "If there is one lesson more than another," said the Master of Balliol lately, "which the War is going to teach us, it will be the lesson as to the future place of Natural Science in our education." The same note had been sounded from across the Channel twenty years before. Reading the Rede Lecture, June 1st, 1899, at the golden jubilee of Sir George Gabriel Stokes in the chair of the illustrious Sir Isaac Newton at the University of Cambridge, the late Professor Alfred Cornu, of the École Polytechnique, said, "Cette humble origine de la plupart des grandes découvertes dont l'humanité est bénéficié montre bien que c'est l'esprit scientifique qui est aujourd'hui le grand ressort de la vie des nations et que c'est dans le progrès de la Science pure qu'il faut chercher le secret de la puissance croissante du monde moderne."

The same high note was struck by Professor Sir Richard T. Glazebrook in the Rede Lecture of last year.² Recalling the address of the Prince of Wales at the opening of the National Physical Laboratory in 1902, when he said: "The object of the scheme is, I understand, to bring scientific knowledge to bear practically upon our every-day industrial and commercial life, to break down the barrier between theory and practice, to effect a union between science and commerce," the lecturer points out that in this process there are three distinct stages calling for careful correlation: the work of the man of science in his Laboratory; the investigations which go on in a Laboratory of Industrial Research, developing new processes or introducing new products; the Works Laboratory proper, controlling the quality of raw materials, or of finished products. And with respect to the fruitful coöperation of the schools and the universities towards such correlation, quoting a recent letter in *Nature* by Mr. M. D. Hill, an Eton Master of twenty years' experience, in which he writes: "The boys who are best at classics are also best at science. . . . Every intelligent boy must be given equal opportunities in science and languages in the widest sense of the word

¹ See "Value of the Classics," edited by Dean Andrew F. West, pp. xi + 396. Princeton University Press, 1917.

² "Science and Industry: The place of Cambridge in any scheme for their combination," The Rede Lecture, 1917, by Sir Richard T. Glazebrook, C.B., M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Director of the National Physical Laboratory, pp. 51. Cambridge, University Press, 1917.

until he is old enough to show which line of study he can most profitably follow," the lecturer continues, "Here is a problem which the University must attack at once. . . . Cambridge must open her doors wide to every son of our great Empire who can show that he can reap benefits from studying within her walls any branch of knowledge for which she offers opportunities. . . . The University must remain the home of Ancient Learning, but the course pursued to secure this end must not be such as to demand that Latin and Greek should remain the principal part of the school tasks of all boys. It must train men to be leaders in all walks of life, and not least in industrial pursuits, and this not by undertaking the technical training of the men who go out hence into the world, but by laying a broad foundation of the scientific principles and laws on which technical knowledge, be it of theology, medicine, or law, or of the more modern branches of applied science, must rest. And lastly, but most important of all, it must produce the leaders in every branch of science."

For the promotion of industrial and scientific research—which, as Lord Moulton remarks, differ only in the nature and circumstances of the problems with which they deal—there has lately been established a permanent government organization under state aid, to be advised by an advisory council, on: proposals for instituting specific researches; proposals for establishing or developing special institutions or departments of existing institutions for the scientific study of problems affecting particular industries or trades; and the establishment and award of research studentships and fellowships. Moreover, the universities, new and old, are passing statutes instituting new research degrees. Furthermore, the school and university programmes are the subjects of recent elaborate reports of government committees on the place of science and modern studies in any reconstruction of English education. Finally, the Education Act of 1918 has enlarged the scope of public education from the elementary school to the university. These are some of the evidences that, in ways hitherto unrealized, state, school, and university are about to coöperate for the promotion of research in pure science and the preservation of the humanistic spirit in English education advocated in these Cambridge Essays on Science and Education.

II

UNIVERSITY LIFE IN FRANCE ¹

ALL academic highways from the West will pass through Paris after the War. For the guidance of these graduate students, and they should be graduate students, two books have lately appeared in print, the one a historical survey of the facilities for university study and research available in Paris and its immediate environs, the other a tribute on the part of American scholars to the present-day science and learning of France. The latter volume, sponsored by five hundred university professors, has been prepared by a hundred scholars under the editorial supervision of Professor Wigmore of Northwestern University and Professor Grandgent of Harvard University. For the introduction President Eliot, corresponding member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institut de France, writes on the Mind of France, while Professor Hale, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Institut de France, writes at length of the Intellectual Inspiration of Paris. Some twenty chapters set forth for as many fields of knowledge the record of French scholarship during the past century, the courses of instruction given now or recently at the universities of France and particularly at the University of Paris, and the library, laboratory, and other auxiliary facilities available for study and research. Attention is also called in the preface to an appendix to the volume, prepared by Professor Geddes of Boston University and Professor Vibbert of the University of Michigan, describing the organization of French universities, the standards of training expected of the student, the system of degrees, the customs as to residence and attendance, the regulations as to fees and the like, together with other facts of interest to the visiting student.

"American students," says President Eliot, "thinking to take advanced studies in Europe, have often in times past supposed the French to be an inconstant, pleasure-loving, materialistic people. They have now learned

¹ "Science and Learning in France," with a survey of opportunities for American students in French universities: an appreciation by American scholars, with an introduction on "The Mind of France" by Charles William Eliot, and on "The Intellectual Inspiration of Paris" by George Ellery Hale, pp. xxxviii+454. Published by the Society for American Fellowships in French Universities, 1917.

"La Vie Universitaire à Paris," par Paul Boyer, Maurice Caullery, Alfred et Maurice Croiset, Émile Durkheim, H. Gautier, Louis Havet, F. Larnauze, Ernest Lavisse, Henri Marcel, Edmond Perrier, Maurice Prou, et G.-H. Roger—ouvrage publié sous les auspices du Conseil de l'Université de Paris, pp. 251. Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1918.

through the Great War that the French are an heroic people, constant to great political and social ideals, a people intelligent, fervid, dutiful, and devoted to family, home, and country. They have also come to see that the peculiar national spirit of France is one of the great bulwarks and resources of civilization, which ought to be not only preserved, but reinforced."

In that "peculiar national spirit" there has been revealed under recent events a "community of spirit greater than the spirit of patriotism." To this many have borne witness. First of all the philosopher M. Boutroux. Again and again Principal Sir George Adam Smith of Aberdeen, who in his recent American addresses has been quoting repeatedly from "*L'Université et la Guerre*" of M. Thamin, Rector of the Academy of Bordeaux: "All the ideas of France are ranged in battle. The country has again acknowledged that which it believed, the University that which it taught. There is the secret of this mutually reinforced confidence; there also is one of the secrets of a unanimity which surprises ourselves. The most unbelieving have discovered for themselves a faith, the most realist an ideal; and this faith and this ideal are the same for all. . . . All have heard the same voices. All have more or less felt descend upon them as it were the supernatural succour of the idea for which they struggle. They know that it cannot prevent them from dying, but that it itself does not die, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

"France stands at the highest level of her moral attainment," writes Professor Hale. "The baseless charge of decadence, the ignorant depreciation based on an imperfect knowledge of the French people and an inability to perceive their deeper qualities—all this, occasionally heard in the past, has been forever silenced by the War, revealing a devotion to the State, a quiet but unyielding persistence in the defence of national ideals, which no opponent can overcome. The inspiring vision of war-swept France, indomitable in the face of sudden invasion, will draw to her universities in the coming days of peace many a student who would taste for himself the qualities he has admired."

Of those universities, the University of Paris is at once the oldest and the foremost. At the beginning of the War the largest university in the world, from its own beginnings as a university it has been a university of the world. With more than one-sixth of its student population foreigners, it has retained somewhat of the cosmopolitan character secured to it in its mediæval days by the sanctions of a single spiritual society and the undisputed use of the Latin tongue as an international language. It was cosmopolitan not only in respect of its students but also of teachers when in turn the Englishman St. Anselm, the Frenchman Abélard, the German Albert the Great, and the Italian St. Thomas Aquinas lectured

there. Nor has it been only an alma mater of men. Indeed it is as a mater universitatum that Professor Durkheim or the Faculty of Letters hails his university in the introductory account of its romantic history, prepared, as is frankly stated, for the convenience of the American student. That history runs through a sinusoidal sequence of some seven centuries¹ from its beginnings perhaps as a cathedral school, its association with similar enterprises in a corporation assuming the name Universitas, the then technical designation of a corporation, and "of Paris," since it was an association of Parisian masters and students; followed by its differentiation into what came to be the four traditional faculties of all universities, its domicile in the colleges of the four nations, its decadence in the wake of the revival of learning; its rehabilitation after the Revolution and under Napoleon as the University of France, but as a group of professional schools, its new faculties of science and letters being in fact examining rather than teaching bodies; its restoration as an institution of liberal learning under the Third Republic; and finally, at the close of the last century, its rebuilding and decentralization under the leadership of the late Louis Liard. And under the same leadership, with the reorganization² of the University of Paris in 1896, the fifteen provincial faculties were raised to the rank of separate universities.

On the current life of Paris and the provincial universities of France³ just before the Great War, M. Édouard Driault contributed an article

¹ The dates 1215 and 1896 appear on the address sent by the University of Paris to the Opening Academic Festival of the Rice Institute in the autumn of 1912.

² To the volume "La Vie Universitaire à Paris" Professor Durkheim contributes a chapter also on the present organization of the life and administration of the University; while chapters on their several departments are written by Dean Alfred Croiset of the Faculté des Lettres, by Professor Maurice Caullery of the Faculté des Sciences, by Director Ernest Lavisse of the École Normale Supérieure, by Dean F. Larnaudé of the Faculté de Droit, by Dean G. H. Roger of the Faculté de Médecine, and by Director H. Gautier of the École Supérieure de Pharmacie. The second half of the volume is constituted of similar essays on several Paris establishments of the higher learning independent of the University; thus the administrative officer, M. Maurice Croiset, of the Collège de France writes of that institution, while articles follow in turn on the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, by M. Edmond Perrier, director of the Museum; on the École Pratique des Hautes-Études, by M. Louis Havet, President of the Section of Historical and Philological Sciences; on the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes by M. Paul Boyer, Administrator of the School; on the École Nationale des Chartes, by M. Maurice Prou, Director of the School; and on the École du Louvre, by M. Henri Marcel, Director of the School.

³ For a sympathetic and discriminating American view of the life and work of the universities of France see Professor Barrett Wendell's volume of Lowell Institute lectures, "The France of To-day," which appeared from the press of Charles Scribner's Sons about ten years ago and has lately gone through many editions.

in French to the *Cambridge Review*, from which, for the further information of Rice and other Southern students who may be thinking to go abroad for study, I am taking the liberty of quoting at considerable length:

On entre dans les Universités françaises en sortant des lycées, ou des collèges, ou des autres établissements secondaires, dont beaucoup sont des établissements ecclésiastiques dirigés par des prêtres catholiques. De toute manière, sauf en ce qui concerne les étrangers, il faut d'abord être *Bachelier*. Depuis quelque temps on admet cependant des "équivalences": le baccalauréat peut-être remplacé par d'autres titres, comme le Professorat des Écoles Normales Primaires; mais cela est rare, et en réalité on peut dire que presque tous les étudiants français des Universités sortent de l'enseignement secondaire.

Il y a d'ailleurs beaucoup de baccalauréats. On les distingue en sections A, B, C, D. Les étrangers ne s'y reconnaissent pas très bien, mais les Français non plus: A=Latin-Grec; B=Latin-Langues; C=Latin-Sciences; D=Sciences-Langues vivantes. On parle d'une section E, pour les sciences naturelles. Il faudra peut-être ensuite une section F. On espère pourtant n'avoir pas à employer toutes les lettres de l'alphabet. Ce régime varié, remplaçant la vieille division en Lettres et Sciences, a été institué en 1902 pour assouplir les programmes, les adapter à toutes les circonstances de la vie moderne. Jadis, on demandait à l'enseignement secondaire, de culture classique, de former des esprits; maintenant on lui demande de donner des connaissances utiles. On a voulu "moderniser" l'enseignement secondaire. L'enseignement supérieur des Universités risque d'y perdre quelques-unes de ses plus précieuses qualités, mais il ne faut pas en être troublé; on reviendra à la pure culture classique d'autrefois; il y a déjà une ligue pour la renaissance des humanités: il est vrai qu'il y a beaucoup de ligues en France, et ailleurs. Les étrangers ne conçoivent pas bien que l'enseignement français puisse être fondé autrement que sur les humanités gréco-latines, latines surtout; la France demeure pour eux, par excellence, le pays des études classiques. Mais on aime assez chez nous les changements, quitte à revenir, de changement en changement, aux bonnes vieilles traditions qui sont la loi de tous les peuples.

Mais voici encore un autre défaut dans le recrutement des Universités françaises. Les bacheliers sont presque tous des enfants de la bourgeoisie, c'est-à-dire des classes moyennes, fils d'avocats, d'ingénieurs, d'officiers, de médecins, de professeurs, qui veulent être, comme leurs pères, professeurs, avocats, officiers, ingénieurs. Les fils de familles pauvres, d'ouvriers ou de paysans, ne peuvent pas entrer dans les établissements d'enseignement secondaire, où la pension est assez chère; les plus laborieux et les mieux doués vont vers les écoles professionnelles, ou les écoles normales, entrent ainsi dans l'industrie, le commerce ou dans l'enseignement des écoles primaires. Quelques-uns, grâce aux équivalences, mais à force de patience et de courage, arrivent au Universités, dont ils ne sont pas les plus mauvais élèves. Mais, si méritants qu'ils soient, ils sont si rares qu'il ne convient pas d'y insister.

Ainsi les Anglais croient peut-être que la France est une République

démocratique, c'est-à-dire une République où l'égalité des droits est parfaite, où il n'y a plus de privilèges. Il y a encore ce privilège essentiel de l'éducation : les grandes charges de l'État, les grandes situations dans la vie politique et économique, sont inaccessibles aux enfants du peuple. Les paysans et les ouvriers élisent des sénateurs et des députés ; mais ils les choisissent forcément dans la classe moyenne, qui est seule assez instruite ; et ainsi le monde politique, issu de la démocratie, s'agit en réalité loin d'elle, lui jetant de temps en temps en pâture des réformes souvent illusoires et qui ne lui sont que des satisfactions médiocres. Si on proposait au Parlement de la démocratie française de voter une loi qui ouvrirait les lycées au mérite plutôt qu'à la fortune, on soulèverait une protestation universelle.

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Quoi qu'il en soit de ce recrutement des Universités, elles sont en France aujourd'hui au nombre de 16, depuis la loi de 1896, qui, sous l'impulsion de M. Liard, alors Directeur de l'Enseignement supérieur, a constitué les divers groupes provinciaux de facultés en Universités : en dehors de Paris, Lille, Caen, Nancy, Besançon, Dijon, Rennes, Poitiers, Clermont-Ferrand, Lyon, Aix-Marseille, Grenoble, Montpellier, Toulon, Bordeaux, Alger. Avant cette loi, il n'y avait qu'une Université complètement organisée, celle de Paris. Paris est bien toujours la grande Université française ; le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique porte le titre de Grand-Maître de l'Université, et non des Universités, et il est officiellement Recteur de l'Université de Paris. Tant qu'un professeur de l'enseignement supérieur, ou secondaire, n'est pas arrivé à Paris, il s'estime en un poste inférieur. Il y a d'ailleurs dans l'enseignement secondaire un cadre spécial des professeurs de Paris, avec des traitements plus élevés.

Cependant la création des autres Universités a marqué un mouvement de décentralisation très remarquable, et qui a déjà donné de grands résultats. Malgré leur jeunesse, les nouvelles Universités ont pris très vite des caractères originaux, non pas certes au même degré que vos admirables Universités de Cambridge, d'Oxford, de Londres ou d'Edimbourg ; mais elles sont devenue pourtant de très actifs foyers de culture régionale et générale. Il arrive que Lyon lutte victorieusement avec Paris. Lille assouplit son enseignement aux besoins de la riche région industrielle où elle est établie. Nancy, comme Strasbourg autrefois, avant la guerre de 1870, s'essaye à être un centre d'études pour la région de transition qui est entre la France et l'Allemagne, un foyer où la science allemande et la science française pourront de mieux en mieux collaborer. Alger est un remarquable centre d'études africaines ; elle a déjà commencé de réveiller les souvenirs de l'administration et de la culture romaine de l'antiquité. Les unes et les autres ont rencontré quelques généreux donateurs pour les aider à développer leur outillage scientifique ; mais la France à cet égard n'est pas encore aussi heureuse que l'Angleterre ou les États-Unis.

Ces Universités ont commencé d'attirer à elles, comme les grandes Universités du moyen âge, Cambridge, Paris, Bologne, des étudiants de toutes nations ; de tous les pays de l'Europe, et du Nouveau-Monde, des milliers d'étudiants prennent aujourd'hui le chemin de France, au point qu'il arrive que les étudiants français se plaignent de cette sorte d'invasion, tout en se réjouissant de cet attrait nouveau qu'exercent au loin les grandes écoles où ils travaillent.

Foyers de décentralisation française, les Universités sont devenues des foyers d'expansion intellectuelle sur les pays voisins. Celle de Toulouse vient de fonder à Madrid un Institut français. Celle de Grenoble en a un à Florence depuis plusieurs années, et qui est très prospère. Il y a un Institut français à Saint Pétersbourg. Des professeurs de l'Université de Paris vont faire des conférences aux Universités des États-Unis. L'Université de Londres vient d'en appeler deux parmi ses propres professeurs, MM. Rudler et Mantoux. Des Professeurs anglais et américains viennent donner des conférences à l'Université de Paris. Peut-être verrons-nous des échanges de cette nature entre les Universités françaises et allemandes; déjà il y a échange d'étudiants. Les Universités de France envoient "autour du monde" de jeunes professeurs qui achèvent d'y prendre les informations nécessaires à la connaissance de l'univers.

De tout cela résulte actuellement une extraordinaire activité, encore un peu confuse, en une fièvre encore incohérente, dont on a pourtant le droit d'attendre de précieux profits. On est au temps des semailles, la moisson viendra, pourvu qu'elle ne soit pas compromise par les tempêtes de la vie politique.

* * *

Les étudiants se pressent en foule dans ces milieux universitaires. Ils sont jeunes quand ils y arrivent, dix-huit à vingt ans; ils sont pleins d'ardeur; ils se jettent dans la carrière qu'ils ont choisie avec une sorte de passion. Ils sont bruyants parfois, comme en tous autres pays; ils aiment les fêtes et les jeux; ils commencent à se livrer aux sports, à la culture physique; ils ont encore à cet égard beaucoup à apprendre de leurs camarades d'Angleterre. Ils sont groupés selon leurs goûts, selon leurs intérêts. Ils ont à Paris une "Association Générale." Ils ont des groupements particuliers; par exemple, il y a à l'Université de Paris une section britannique, un English Debating Club. Il en est parmi eux qui font dans les Universités des études désintéressées, qui se livrent à des recherches personnelles, sans préoccupation d'examen. La plupart cependant ont avant tout le souci d'obtenir les grades qui leur ouvriront l'avenir qu'ils rêvent.

Ils assistent pour cela à des *cours publics*, où ils sont souvent noyés dans le public: il y a des cours à la mode, où il y a foule, non pas surtout d'étudiants, de longues files d'équipages aux portes de l'Université qui en prend alors des airs de grand salon mondain. Il n'est pas utile de donner des exemples, parce que la mode est chose éphémère et capricieuse, et qu'il ne convient pas d'exciter la jalousie des uns, de blesser la modestie des autres. La vie intellectuelle des étudiants se passe davantage dans les *conférences*, qui leur sont réservées; ils y suivent des exercices pratiques; ils y font l'apprentissage de l'enseignement; ils y font des conférences qui sont corrigées par les maîtres; il y a des corrections de maîtres qui sont magistrales; nous en avons connu de M. Lavisce qui étaient admirablement fortes et spirituelles.

Ainsi on entend cet hiver à Paris: à la Faculté de Droit, des cours sur la procédure civile des Romains, sur la criminalité juvénile, sur les sources du droit international, sur la guerre maritime, sur la théorie générale de l'impôt, sur la hausse des prix;—à la Faculté de Médecine, sur le système nerveux central, sur les maladies du tube digestif, sur l'hygiène industrielle, sur les maladies infectieuses;—à la Faculté des Sciences, sur les principes généraux de la géométrie infinitésimale, sur les moteurs ther-

miques, sur la constitution des planètes et des comètes, sur la radioactivité, sur l'électro-capillarité, sur la chimie des métaux, sur l'aviation maritime; — à la Faculté des Lettres, sur la psychologie générale, sur la philosophie de Schopenhauer, sur l'histoire des Pharaons, sur les institutions grecques, sur la formation des nationalités balkaniques, sur le Sacré-Colège au moyen âge, sur le règne de Victoria, sur l'Eglise au IV^e siècle; sur la morphologie de la surface du sol, sur les éléments de la géographie humaine; sur la philosophie politique de Thucydide, sur l'état actuel de la question homérique, sur la philologie latine, sur les grands courants et les grands maîtres de la littérature française moderne, sur le romain français au XVIII^e siècle, sur la diffusion du français au XVII^e siècle, etc.

A Paris notamment, il y a tout un monde d'institutions qui dépendent de l'Université ou qui en sont distinctes. Nous conseillons de lire à ce sujet le beau livre de M. Liard sur l'*Université de Paris*; actuellement Vice-Recteur, au plutôt, en vérité, Recteur de l'Université de Paris, M. Liard est l'homme en qui se personnifient le mieux aujourd'hui les Universités de France. L'Université de Paris, à elle seule, compte actuellement 300 maîtres et plus de 17,000 étudiants.

Elle a son centre, sa capitale, à la Sorbonne. Il ne s'y rencontre plus rien des pauvres écoles du moyen âge qui, sur les pentes de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève, étaient les ancêtres des puissants établissements scientifiques d'aujourd'hui. Cependant on a voulu, sur les murs de la nouvelle Sorbonne, tout récemment achevée, reproduire en de grandes fresques quelques aspects de la vie première de l'antique Université, et on y laisse volontiers l'imagination tenter de ressusciter ce passé très émouvant. Les bâtiments nouveaux encadrent majestueusement la Chapelle que construisit Richelieu et qui garde son tombeau. Là sont installées les salles principales de la Faculté des Lettres et de la Faculté des Sciences. A quelque distance sont les bâtiments de la Faculté de Droit, de l'École de Médecine, de l'École de Pharmacie, de l'École Normale Supérieure dont les élèves sont aujourd'hui confondus avec les autres étudiants des Lettres et des Sciences. Ailleurs, mais dans ce même quartier du Panthéon ou de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève, il y a l'Institut de Chimie, l'Institut Océanographique, l'Institut du radium, en attendant l'Institut de Géographie. La Faculté des Sciences a un Institut aérotechnique à Saint-Cyr, des laboratoires à Wimereux, à Banyuls, à Roscoff, à Fontainebleau. Il n'y a plus de Faculté de Théologie, l'enseignement supérieur public ayant été laïcisé comme l'enseignement secondaire et l'enseignement primaire; mais il y a une Faculté libre de Théologie protestante et un Institut Catholique.

En dehors de l'Université, sans parler des Bibliothèques très nombreuses, des Archives, des collections et Musées, il y a le Collège de France, le Muséum de l'Histoire Naturelle, l'École Pratique des Hautes-Études, l'Institut Pasteur, l'École Libre des Sciences politiques; l'École des Hautes-Études Sociales, l'École Nationale des Chartes, l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, l'École des Beaux-arts, l'École du Louvre, l'Institut national agronomique, l'École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures, l'École Coloniale, l'École des Hautes-Études commerciales, l'École des Mines, l'École des Ponts-et-Chaussées.

Les étudiants de l'Université elle-même recherchent en général les mêmes grades qu'autrefois dans les Universités du moyen âge: la Licence, *licentia docendi*, qui donne en effet le droit d'enseigner; on l'obtient après des examens qui comportent des compositions écrites et des interrogations orales;—et le Doctorat, qui donne le droit d'enseigner parmi les maîtres des Universités. On a institué dans ces dernières années un grade qu'on appelle Doctorat d'Université, qui est surtout recherché par les étudiants étrangers, qui ne donne pas le droit d'entrer dans l'enseignement supérieur français, qui est seulement honorifique.

Il est à remarquer que les étudiants en droit et en médecine passent directement de la Licence au Doctorat qui leur assure le droit d'exercer la médecine ou les fonctions de magistrats et d'officiers ministériels, avocats, avoués, notaires. Les agrégations de droit et de médecine donnent ensuite le droit d'enseigner dans les facultés correspondantes. Au contraire, les étudiants des Sciences et des Lettres, après la Licence, doivent obtenir d'abord le Diplôme d'Études supérieures, de sciences mathématiques, ou physiques, ou naturelles, ou de philosophie, de lettres, d'histoire, qui est nécessaire pour pouvoir se présenter ensuite aux diverses agrégations. Car aujourd'hui, par un relèvement sensible des études, il faut l'Agrégation pour être admis à enseigner dans les Lycées; la Licence ne donne de chaires que dans les collèges de moindre importance. Et ainsi les diverses Agrégations, qui comportent des compositions écrites et des examens oraux consistant surtout en leçons professorales, confèrent les principales fonctions de l'enseignement secondaire, et, avec le Doctorat, de l'enseignement supérieur.

A part ceux, de plus en plus nombreux, qui sortent de l'enseignement pour aller dans la presse ou dans la politique, ou dans les affaires industrielles et commerciales, les agrégés retournent dans les Lycées, les licenciés dans les collèges, pour y former d'autres étudiants, qui prendront après eux le flambeau et le porteront aux générations de l'avenir: le grand cycle des études universitaires est achevé.

ÉDOUARD DRIAULT.

III

A NEW AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WITH the advent of the European War, the so-called solidarity of science as an international solvent suddenly became volatile and vanished.¹ And hardly less speedily universities began to lose their most distinguishing trait, namely, their international character, except in so far as such a relationship could be partially sustained through new alignments. Similarly, with restricted range and limited jurisdiction, smaller war groups have divided up among themselves the world-wide domains of the republic of letters and the commonwealth of learning, whose foundations had been thought to lie "below the tides of war." If the phrases denominational university, sectional university, national university, are each in turn contradictions in terms, likewise an international university—if dominated by a particular form of international mind—is also a contradiction in terms. A university may bear name of place or founder as a means of identification in space and time; if the institution be worthy of the designation, the term university should take care of all the rest; and it takes care of all the rest by excluding all but the disinterested pursuit of truth.

On the shield of the oldest university in America stands the Latin word *Veritas*, whose Anglo-Saxon equivalent is that other fine word. Truth. To truth, others have undertaken to join in turn freedom or justice or goodness or beauty, or any other of the great ideas by which for mankind progress has been gained, only to find all these aspects of truth swallowed up in the thing itself and truth still standing alone "above all things bearing away the victory." On the scroll of the youngest of institutions in America—to which in the essay-review reprinted here from *Science Progress* for July, 1918, Mr. Jourdain politely refers as the latest American university—stand three of the disciplines through which men seek truth.

Of truth-seekers a great company it was that assembled, in the days of which Mr. Jourdain writes, to speed the new university on its high

¹ In the face of reported repudiations of honorary degrees, melting down of gold medals, and renouncing of memberships in alien learned societies during the present conflict, it may be interesting to recall that a hundred years ago, while France and England were at war, Sir Humphry Davy, of the Royal Society and Royal Institution of London, on visiting Paris was received with the highest honors, awarded a gold medal, and elected a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences. See Schuster and Shipley, "Britain's Heritage of Science," 2d edition. London, Constable, 1918.

adventure. From all quarters of the compass they came, for in those fair days now far removed by war's swift sweep, all the highways of the world—the land routes, the air routes, the water routes—were open. To-day most of those highways are closed, and the few remaining open are menaced. To-day no such assemblage could be arranged even in the disinterested interests of the pursuit of truth. To-day war conditions have rendered utterly impossible even the gathering of the clans of letters, science, and art. The uniqueness thus given to the events and the significance of the events themselves may perhaps justify this further reference to a record war-delayed in the making and distribution. In any event, the reader of Mr. Jourdain's essay will find therein views on university education of more than passing interest.

A NEW AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, by PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, M.A.: on *The Book of the Opening of the Rice Institute*: being an Account in Three Volumes of an Academic Festival held in Celebration of the formal Opening of the Rice Institute, a University of Liberal and Technical Learning founded in the City of Houston, Texas, by William Marsh Rice, and dedicated by him to the Advancement of Letters, Science, and Art. [Vol. I.: Pp. xiv + 1-264, with 2 portraits and various inserts. Vol. II.: Pp. x + 265-680, with 5 portraits. Vol. III.: Pp. x + 681-1100, with 7 portraits and numerous diagrams.] (Houston, Texas.)¹

These magnificently produced volumes celebrate the opening of the latest American University. The history of the growth of a noble idea and its materialization are well sketched by the first President of the Rice Institute, Mr. Edgar Odell Lovett, in a paper in the first volume, and the various important inaugural lectures, delivered by eminent men summoned from all parts of the world to Houston, Texas, in October, 1912, form the second and third volumes. To come to details, the first volume also contains the usual preliminaries to an academical festival: list of delegates, addresses of welcome and responses, programmes of concerts, toasts and responses, and accounts of religious services given in the city auditorium. Some of these accounts were reproduced in the *Rice Institute Pamphlet* (1915, 1, 1-132; 1916, 3, 231-310), and, in the case of the important scientific and other lectures in the second and third volumes, we shall give reference to the reproductions in rather more accessible form in this *Pamphlet*. The portraits and other reproductions are very fine indeed: in the first volume there are two photogravures of the founder, a view of the University, the general architectural plan, the invitation to the festival, and facsimiles of some of the letters received. The second and third volumes contain finely executed portraits of the

¹ An Essay-Review in *Science Progress* for July, 1918.

authors of the various inaugural lectures, and also one of the subject of one of these lectures, Henri Poincaré. A half-tone reproduction of the same portrait of Poincaré is also given in No. 2 of Vol. I (1915) of the *Pamphlet* (facing p. 133).

The second volume contains: Rafael Altamira y Crevea, "The Problem of the Philosophy of History" (265-87; 1915, 1, 256-78), "The Theory of Civilization" (288-320; 1915, 1, 279-311), and "The Methods of Extending Civilization among the Nations" (321-46; 1915, 1, 312-37); Émile Borel, "Molecular Theories and Mathematics" (347-77; 1915, 1, 163-93), "Aggregates of Zero Measure" (378-98; 1917, 4, 1-21), and "Monogenic Uniform Non-Analytic Functions: The Theories of Cauchy, Weierstrass and Riemann" (399-429; 1917, 4, 22-52); Benedetto Croce, "The Breviary of Æsthetic" (430-517; 1915, 2, 223-310); Hugo de Vries, "Mutations in Heredity" (518-70; 1915, 1, 339-91), "Geographical Botany" (571-95), "Modern Cytological Problems" (596-614), and "The Ideals of an Experiment Garden" (615-9); Sir Henry Jones, "Philosophical Landmarks, being a Survey of the Recent Gains and the Present Problems of Reflective Thought" (620-80; 1915, 1, 195-255).

The third volume contains: Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, "The Introduction of Western Learning into Japan" (681-725; 1915, 2, 55-99); John William Mackail, "The Study of Poetry" (726-77; 1915, 2, 1-52); Wilhelm Ostwald, "The System of the Sciences" (778-867; 1915, 2, 101-90), and "Principles of the Theory of Education" (868-98; 1915, 2, 191-221); Vito Volterra, "Henri Poincaré" (899-928; 1915, 1, 133-62); Sir William Ramsay, "The Electron as an Element" (929-46; 1915, 1, 392-409), "Compounds of Electrons" (947-61; 1915, 1, 410-24), and "The Disruption of the so-called Elements" (962-80; 1915, 1, 425-43); Carl Størmer, "The Corpuscular Theory of Aurora Borealis" (981-1035); Vito Volterra, "The Generalization of Analytic Functions" (1036-84; 1917, 4, 53-101), and "On the Theory of Waves and Green's Method" (1085-1100; 1917, 4, 102-17).

It may surprise some that such a large space is given to pure mathematics in these lectures. But it seems particularly suitable that, in a large and rather sparsely inhabited province of the United States where we should expect particular attention to be paid to the practical sciences, a far-seeing President and Committee should have laid stress on the great truth that science in general can only proceed if the logical instrument for exact thought and exact expression is diligently cultivated. It is surely not a mere accident that two of those men among modern mathematicians should be chosen as lecturers whose work is in the foremost line of advance of pure mathematics and has also a very close connection with mathematical physics.

I will now attempt to pick out some of the points of scientific interest in some of the lectures.

Sir Henry Jones attempts to "indicate the manner in which the natural sciences . . . must not only extend your mastery over the outer world, but reverberate within your inner selves, enriching and enlarging the powers of your rational nature." The intercourse of Japan with the West began in 1543, and then it was through the Portuguese. Not long afterwards came the English, the Dutch, and the Spanish; but Western medicine, surgery, and mathematics seem to have been introduced by the Jesuits. Baron Kikuchi's short summary is especially interesting from the point of view of the parts which various nations have played in developing the intercourse up to 1912. Mr. Mackail deals in succession with the function of a University, the nature of Poetry, the Modern World, Poetry and Science ("The fancied opposition of science to art and letters, and more particularly to poetry, is injurious to the general interests of mankind. . . . The creative instinct, the imaginative impulse, which find expression in poetry, are powerfully reinforced by the discoveries of science and by the growth of the scientific spirit. . . ."), Poetry and Business, and Poetry and Democracy. The lecture by Prof. Størmer contains a summary of his researches on aurora borealis which were begun in 1904, and the results of which have been published from 1904 to 1912 in various periodicals.

Two of the lectures by M. Borel and two of those by Prof. Volterra were noticed in the "Recent Advances" of the last number of *Science Progress* (1918, 12, 544). M. Borel's lecture on "Molecular Theories and Mathematics" starts from the reflection that "it was the study of physical phenomena which suggested the notions of continuity, derivative, integral, differential equation, vector, and the calculus of vectors; and these notions, by a just return, have become part of the scientific equipment necessary to every physicist . . .," and examines the influence which molecular theories may have on the development of mathematics. Indeed, "the points of contact between molecular physics and mathematics are numerous," "mathematicians can only gain by investigating [the analogies] more closely," and "the task . . . cannot long be deferred of creating an analysis adapted to theoretical researches in the physics of discontinuity." Prof. Volterra's lecture on "Henri Poincaré" emphasizes the very modern aspect of Poincaré's scientific work. At the present day scientific work is published chiefly in the form of memoirs in scientific journals, so that work is often published as it progresses. "The proceedings of the academies, short and precise reviews, have appeared. A man reports in a few words every discovery as soon as he has made it. Time presses; one fears that the next minute the dis-

covery may be lost. . . . This development has created a particular state of mind among scientists, and has changed their lives, their ways of working, and even of thinking. There are great advantages in this modern scientific life. Research has become almost collective. The energies of the investigators are summed; their discoveries follow each other rapidly; competition spurs them on. Their number increases from day to day. But how many objections we can oppose to these advantages!" Indeed, the whole aspect of scientific life has quite changed since the tradition created by Gauss's practice of writing "*pauca sed matura*." It may be remembered that Weierstrass once remarked that the method adopted by the Paris Academy of Sciences for announcing discoveries seemed to him to injure the work of Poincaré. However, it does not really seem that the objections urged by Weierstrass had weight against Poincaré's best work; as regards his "philosophical" work, certainly much of it gives one the impression of a kind of lively lack of interest in the subject, and consequent carelessness, but the work that Poincaré loved preserves a power of stimulating his readers, and, like many Frenchmen, he thought so quickly and accurately in his chosen domain that one can hardly imagine that his work would have been improved by years of silent meditation before it was published. Prof. Volterra gives a very clear account of certain of Poincaré's mathematical investigations: on the theory of linear differential equations and "Fuchsian" functions, on mathematical physics, and on dynamics and astronomy. In particular, that investigation is described rather more in detail which concerns the equilibrium of a rotating fluid mass.

We have noticed the stimulating effect of much of Poincaré's work, which is partly due to the modern methods of publication. There are some remarks made by Sir William Ramsay, in his reply to a toast after a public luncheon given on the occasion of the opening of the Rice Institute, which seem to bear on the subject. Speaking of the danger of having too large classes of students in a University, he recommended that the number of assistants to a Professor should not be increased but the number of entirely separate departments should be increased. Learned men cannot, he points out, be made like needles or wire or nails, but each student must come into personal contact with his teachers. It seems that this Platonic view ought, perhaps, to be rubbed into our British educational authorities rather than into such authorities in America. The importance of personal contact has never been lost sight of in America: we need only remember the wonderfully broad-minded conditions under which Sylvester held his professorate at Johns Hopkins University.

What seems to be an even greater need at the present time is the

provision of means whereby an intending investigator may keep abreast of the huge flood of literature on scientific subjects. It is—partly at least—owing to the modern conditions spoken of by Professor Volterra that men of science publish their work in short communications at different times and perhaps in different periodicals. The personal element is preserved, in many cases, because we are present, so to speak, at the discovery of what is discovered, but it becomes necessary to have a complete and critical index, a thread to follow in the maze of scientific literature. This seems to be one of the things that can be undertaken by a prosperous University, and by such a University alone. Hitherto the work of this kind has almost wholly been left to Germany. Now, apart altogether from certain national prejudices which undoubtedly appear in many German accounts of other nations' work, and thus affecting both the completeness and the value of the criticism, we are faced with the problem that, for reasons which reduce to financial ones, no European country except Germany ever has been able to undertake such a work on a large scale, while Germany itself will probably be unable to do its part for some time to come. One of the distressing results of the intolerable (to others) government of Germany is that what is good in Germany—good intentions of some of its scientific men—has its power weakened.

It only remains to point out one or two printer's or other mistakes in these noble volumes. The word "the" is sometimes superfluous—at least to British ears: thus "the Nations" (p. 321) and "the mathematical analysis" (p. 984). In the note on p. 273 it is confusing that the title of a book is translated, although the book has not been translated into English, but this confusion is not always made (for example on p. 336). In the notes on pp. 1041 and 1042 the text of the Italian is not translated, as if "*Vedi*" and "*e seg.*" were part of the title of a book or a paper. On pp. 339 and 428 the word "vigorous" appears instead of "rigorous"; and on p. 400 the word "exactly" is wrongly used: Fourier cannot be said to have proved his theorem *exactly* (that is, rigidly); what the original seems to have meant is that this theorem was exactly what Fourier proved—or rather made very probable.

PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

IV

AN ENGLISH UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

SIR William A. Tilden's memoir¹ of the life and work of the late Professor Sir William Ramsay will be read with interest by all members of this institution, and especially by those who were in residence at the time of Professor Ramsay's visit to the Rice Institute. Ramsay died in 1916, full of honors, but not in the fullness of his days, for he was born as lately as 1852. I made his acquaintance for the first time, and in his own laboratory, some half a dozen years ago when, at the request of the Rice Trustees, I went abroad in 1911 to invite a number of foreign scholars to assist us in dedicating the new university in the autumn of 1912. Sir William generously and promptly accepted our invitation both for himself and for Lady Ramsay.² While in Houston the Ramsays were entertained in the hospitable home of Captain and Mrs. James A. Baker, and during their stay made a host of new friends and renewed acquaintanceship with many old ones among the visiting

¹ "Sir William Ramsay, K.C.B., F.R.S., Memorials of his Life and Work," by Sir William A. Tilden, F.R.S., pp. xvi+311. London, Macmillan, 1918.

² To Lady Ramsay's account of their visit to the Rice Institute, Sir William Tilden appends the following note:

"The proceedings at the inauguration of the Rice Institute are recorded with full detail in *The Book of the Opening of the Rice Institute*, the title-page of which also adds the following words: 'being an account in three volumes of an academic festival held in celebration of the formal opening of the Rice Institute, a university of liberal and technical learning, founded in the city of Houston, Texas, by William Marsh Rice and dedicated by him to the advancement of letters, science and art.' These volumes contain the lectures given on the occasion by the eminent men who had been invited to assist by their presence and contributions. Volume three contains the lectures given by Ramsay, the titles of which are as follows: (1) The Electron as an Element, (2) Compounds of Electrons, (3) The Disruption of the so-called Elements. These lectures develop in greater detail the application of the ideas set forth in presidential addresses to the Chemical Society of London. They are purely speculative but they illustrate the readiness with which Ramsay could turn from conventional views of chemical action, and the boldness with which he could develop hypotheses to fit the facts. It is true, as he says at the end of lecture two, that 'the electron is no mythical conception, and that it enters into the constitution of matter is as certain as that matter exists.' It does not follow, however, that there is much positive foundation for hypotheses as to their motions and combinations, and further study of the facts and phenomena connected with chemical action is necessary before solid ground is reached. Until the world settles down again to the peaceful occupations of civilization there is not much prospect of advance in this direction."

delegates to the first Rice Institute academic festival. Lady Ramsay was most charming, and our citizens found Sir William to be not only a great man but a good fellow. His inaugural lecture, as an exciting adventure for his auditors, was among the most brilliant performances of those memorable days. It has been published, along with the two others he presented on that occasion, in the Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. I, No. 4, and is still accessible to anyone who may desire a copy. No one of our guests entered more heartily into the spirit of the occasion than did Sir William, from the first day, when at the municipal luncheon he objected to Mayor Rice's introduction of him as a "foreign visitor," when later he led another assemblage in the singing of "Auld Lang Syne," on up to the very last formal meeting when he referred to himself as a "sage-femme" on conveying the congratulations of the University of London and other institutions whose greetings he had been commissioned to bring to the Rice Institute. He was enthusiastic about the city and the university; I have had repeated occasion to hear echoes of the vocal expression he gave to that enthusiasm in Baltimore, Washington, New York, Boston, and London. Moreover, his interest continued unabated in our work. He followed our undertakings from year to year with recommendations of men and measures forwarded in letters from time to time just as they occurred to him. His counsel came from large experience as an administrator, for he himself had been for years Principal of University College, Bristol, before assuming the professorship of chemistry in the University of London. From the latter professorship he had retired some time before his death. Among my cherished letters is one written, as he said, on the day when he was leaving his lecture desk for the last time. At the beginning of the Great War he was one of the very first to place his scientific abilities at the disposal of his government, and he has served that government constantly since, in an advisory capacity on various scientific committees. Moreover, some ten years before, in articles on patriotism in the universities, he had been preaching preparedness to his countrymen. "Recognizing that it is the duty of every able-bodied man to be prepared to defend his country," he says in one of these discussions, "let us ask how can university men contribute to this end? By becoming Volunteers, it may be answered. True; but could not some arrangement be made whereby service would be made compatible with academic work? . . . Could we not form the habit of devoting one of our university years to shooting and drill? Is it not fitting that the brains of the nation should set the example to the rest? Would it not be possible to create the feeling that not to have learned to defend one's country is 'bad form'? That to have

taken a degree without having done one's duty is unworthy of our manhood." Such were the considerations he also urged on us in 1912, not, as he said, in any spirit of militarism, but in the firm conviction that the way to avoid war is to be well prepared, and that it is the duty of every young man of education to bear his share in insuring his country against future misfortunes. I could more than completely fill the space available in a mere recital of the honors and distinctions which represent the recognition of Professor Sir William Ramsay's services to science and society. I should have great hesitation in attempting anything like an adequate estimate of those services, but in concluding this personal reminiscence and appreciation of his visit to Houston I venture to quote from some words of introduction which I had the honor to use at that time: "Professor Sir William Ramsay, K.C.B., of London, England: late Professor of Chemistry at University College, London; Nobel Laureate in Chemistry, 1904; President of the Seventh International Congress of Applied Chemistry; a facile experimenter of boldness and ingenuity, who has devised new theories and revived outworn ones in a series of remarkable achievements which of themselves constitute an epoch in the history of the chemical elements and a permanent chapter in the annals of science."¹

For several outstanding biographical details, and, more particularly, for Ramsay's views on university education, let us turn from personal reminiscence to Sir William Tilden's admirable memoir. And an admirable biography the volume is: admirable in sense and scope and spirit: readable as Mrs. Humphry Ward's "Recollections," and above the reproach of Mr. Lytton Strachey's recent criticism of some forms of English biography: "Those two fat volumes, with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? They are as familiar as the cortège of the undertaker and wear the same air of slow, funereal barbarism. One is tempted to suppose of some of them, that they were composed by that functionary, as the final item of his job."

¹ Ramsay held membership in practically all of the scientific societies of the learned world; had been awarded medals and prizes by a number of such societies in America, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Sweden; had been decorated by the heads of the English, French, German and Italian governments; and had received honorary degrees in philosophy, science, laws or medicine from Dublin, Glasgow, Cracow, Heidelberg, Columbia, Cambridge, Oxford, Liverpool, Jena, Birmingham, Sheffield, Bristol, Christiania, Johns Hopkins, and Durham universities, the institutions being arranged here according to the chronological order in which the several degrees were conferred.

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As Gilbert Burnet said of his mother, Ramsay's parents—William Ramsay and Catharine Robertson, married at forty—were “good, religious people, but most violently engaged in the Presbyterian way.” Their only child, pointing out in an autobiographical sketch that his forefathers on the paternal side were dyers for certainly seven generations while on his mother's side they were physicians, says “it may be safely concluded that I had the prospect of possessing chemical instincts by way of inheritance.” These instincts, however, did not assert themselves very early. It seems that chemistry was not among his studies while an undergraduate at the University of Glasgow, which at fourteen years of age he entered to remain three years, though before he left school for the University he had, during convalescence from a broken leg got at football, read Graham's *Chemistry*, but “with the object chiefly, as he confesses, of finding out how to make fireworks.” His studies in college were perhaps determined somewhat by his mother's desire that he should prepare for the ministry. He of course attended the Latin and Greek classes, although he had small liking for either Latin or Greek. He became, however, a most accomplished linguist and later in life welcomed the delegates to an international congress by himself delivering addresses of greeting in English, French, German, and Italian. It was only in October, 1869, that he began to study chemistry systematically, and then on entering Mr. R. R. Tatlock's laboratory in Glasgow; in 1870 we find him in Bunsen's laboratory in Heidelberg; by Easter of '71 he is proceeding to Tübingen, where the following year at the early age of twenty he received his doctor's degree. Among his fellow students at Tübingen was the American chemist, Ira Remsen, who lately retired from the presidency of the Johns Hopkins University. In a recent letter to Lady Ramsay, from which Sir William A. Tilden quotes, President Remsen says: “In looking over recently some letters from my old friend, Ramsay, I came upon one dated March 23rd, 1904, that began with these words: ‘Who would have thought when you opened the big, front door of the Tübingen laboratory in 1871 and in answer to my question in questionable German, “Können Sie sagen wo ist die Vorlesungszimmer?”’ you replied after a pause, “Oh, I guess you want the lecture-room,” that I should now write after thirty-three years to tell you —.’ This is one of his favorite stories.” Recalling the relations of a group of Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Americans then studying chemistry in Tübingen, Dr. Remsen goes on to say that Ramsay “was the youngest of our little party and was a great favorite. One of our forms of recreation was baseball. . . . When in 1912 the Johns Hopkins University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon Sir William it fell to my lot as President of the University to make a few remarks and he replied,

neither of us could refrain from referring to our Tübingen days, and the baseball club was recalled in public by Sir William. Among other things he said: 'I tell you the Tübingen baseball club was not to be sneezed at.' In this connection it is interesting to recall that the present Lord Milner was at times a member of the club." After referring to Ramsay's skill in skating and singing, and commenting on his companionableness in social life, President Remsen concludes his student recollections with: "I cannot refrain from quoting the last words of the last letter he ever wrote me, dated March 15, 1916, 'Well, I am tired and must stop. I look back on my long friendship with you as a very happy episode in a very happy life; for my life has been a very happy one.'"

Ramsay's doctor's dissertation was entitled "Investigations on the Toluic and Nitrotoluic Acids." In August of 1872 he returned from Germany to Glasgow to become assistant in the Young Laboratory of Technical Chemistry. Two years later he was appointed tutorial assistant in Glasgow University under Professor John Ferguson, and published his first independent paper, "On Hydrogen Persulphide." In 1880 he became professor of chemistry at University College, Bristol. In 1881 he was elected Principal of the College, and in August of that year was married to Margaret, daughter of George Stevenson Buchanan. In 1883 he published the first paper of a series of papers jointly with Dr. Sydney Young, a series extending through some thirty-five papers and up to the year 1895. During the Bristol period Ramsay was instrumental in initiating a campaign which finally secured government grants to the University Colleges of England. In 1887 he was elected to the professorship of chemistry at University College, London, and held the chair for twenty-five years. Here were to be made his great discoveries in the chemistry of the gases of the atmosphere: in 1894 the isolation and study of argon in association with Lord Rayleigh; in 1895 the discovery of terrestrial helium; in 1898 the discovery of neon, krypton and xenon; in 1903 the recognition of helium as a product of the disintegration of radium emanation; in 1905 the discovery of radio-thorium; in 1910 the determination of the density of niton (radium emanation). From his chair in chemistry at University College he retired in 1912. His last communication to the scientific world is dated April 1st, 1916, and is entitled "A Hypothesis of Molecular Configuration in Three Dimensions of Space." Sir William Tilden remarks, however, that this paper is the result of experiments made some years previously. The paper is printed in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, issued July 1st, 1916. Ramsay passed away quietly in the early morning of July 23rd, 1916.

So in rough outline runs Ramsay's record of achievement. It is a record of research, invention and discovery. And as such it represents

also for him the beginning, middle and end of university education.¹ For him the supreme question in education is: "How can knowledge best be increased?"

"Recent correspondence and articles which have appeared in the public Press," he writes in the course of two articles on "Universities Abroad," contributed to *The Times* (London) in June, 1892, "show that there are in England many conceptions of what a University should be. Many of the writers appear to consider a college as necessarily a hall of residence, as in Oxford or Cambridge; many suppose the primary function of a University to consist in bestowing degrees after a certain course of study; while others advocate the claims of a 'University for the People,' where weekly evening lectures should lead to recognition of the students as eligible for an associateship or for a degree. There are yet others who imply that the function of a University consists in examination only, and who uphold the University of London as an ideal institution. In this state of opinion it is well to cast our eyes abroad, and to enquire what conception of a University is held by the nations of the Continent. Before beginning an experiment it is advisable to study the literature of the subject, for thus only can errors be avoided and a reasonable prospect of a successful issue secured. This is the invariable prelude in these days to all scientific inquiry, and surely the most important of all is: How can knowledge best be increased?"

"This," says Sir William Tilden, "was the question ever before the mind of Ramsay, and in his ardour for research into the unknown he seems to have attached less importance to those other functions of universities which are connected with preparation for professions and for the every-day life of the world. Probably his view would have been that initiation into the methods of scientific research is the best preparation for successful investigation of the problems which come before the physician, the engineer, the agriculturist, the teacher, the man of business no less than the man who takes up natural science as a pursuit to be followed through a lifetime. And his distrust of examinations and their results as a means of discovering capacity or rewarding merit often brought him into conflict with those who rely more confidently on the utility of examinations as an educational instrument. This is a large question of far-reaching importance upon which unanimity can never be expected." And Tilden goes on to say by way of further comment that "men of genius like Ramsay are apt to forget, if they become teachers, that the average quality of mind among students is very different from their own, and

¹ Ramsay's views on the subject of elementary and secondary school education may be gathered from an article published in January, 1916, the last year of his life, by the Manchester *Daily Dispatch*. Tilden quotes at length from this article, pp. 195-199.

attempts to apply indiscriminately methods which appeal to their own mental activity and resource are certain to meet with disappointment in the great majority of cases. It is, in fact, too often forgotten not only by teachers but by parents and others that though a natural faculty may be improved by education, it can never be created by any process in those cases where the natural faculty does not already exist. Poets, mathematicians, researchers are born, not made, and all that education can do in any case is to educe, train and strengthen qualities already existent which might otherwise run to waste and produce merely mischief."

His views on the subject of university education Ramsay had an opportunity of setting forth at length in an oration delivered at the University College, London, June 6th, 1901, entitled "The Functions of a University." This was printed in the volume of *Essays, Biographical and Chemical*, bearing the imprint of Dutton, New York, 1900. The volume was later translated into German under the title *Vergangenes und Künftiges aus der Chemie*. The second edition of the German version, published in 1913, contains the autobiographical sketch to which reference was made in an earlier paragraph of this review. The last essay in the volume of *Essays* consists of the oration to which reference has just been made. In some half dozen pages of extracts Tilden has threaded together in interesting fashion Ramsay's arguments and illustrations, but substance and spirit suffer inevitably by the cutting, and accordingly permission of the publishers has been obtained for reprinting the original essay in full as an article in this number of the Rice Institute Pamphlet.

Early in this article I made reference to some of Ramsay's views on patriotism; as already indicated, I shall later be quoting at length from his views on education. He was loyal to country; he was loyal to kin and kind. On every one of his countrymen he placed obligation to serve the country; for every one of his countrymen he urged opportunity for the development of any originality within him. Patriotism, education, and religion; how stands Ramsay's record in account with religion? It is an intimate, personal question to ask. To its answer Sir William Tilden gives some clues. In the course of the years there were undoubtedly crumbings from the creed of the Covenanters, but if perennial cheerfulness and charity—not merely charitableness but concrete charity—distinguish the Christian character, his Christian experience in an evangelical sense was far from incomplete. Tilden suggests that the position reached by Ramsay seems revealed in the following extract from a letter which, at least in substance, Ramsay wrote to more than one of his correspondents:

"This is Sunday and I am going to continue our conversation of three weeks ago, and give you two quotations, one neutralising the other, I

think. The first is from W. H. Howells,¹ and is called 'The Bewildered Guest':

'I was not asked if I should like to come.
I have not seen my host since here I came,
Or had a word of welcome in his name.
Some say that we shall never see him; some
That we shall see him elsewhere, and then know
Why we were bid. How long I am to stay
I have not the least notion. None, they say,
Was ever told when he should come or go.
But every now and then there bursts upon
The song and mirth a lamentable noise,
A sound of shrieks and sobs, that strikes our joys
Dumb in our breasts; and then, some one is gone.
They say we meet him, none knows where or when;
We know we shall not meet him here again.'

The second is in *Paul Kever*, by Jerome K. Jerome, a book which I strongly recommend, if you haven't read it already:

'“What do you believe,” I asked, “father—really, I mean?” The night had fallen. My father put his arm around me and drew me to him, “That we are God's children, little brother,” he answered, “that what He wills for us is best. It may be life, it may be sleep; it will be best. I cannot think that He will let us die; that were to think of Him as without purpose. But His uses may not be our desires. We must trust Him. ‘Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.’”

We walked awhile in silence before my father spoke again.

“Now abideth these three: faith, hope and charity”—you remember the verse—faith in God's goodness to us, hope that our dreams may be fulfilled. But these concern but ourselves—the greatest of all is charity.”

“Be kind, that is all it means,” continued my father. “Often we do what we think right and evil comes of it, and out of evil comes good. We cannot understand—maybe the old laws we have misread. But the new law that we love one another—all creatures He has made—that is so clear. And if it be that we are here together only for a little while, the future dark, how much the greater need have we of one another!”’

“I think there is little more to be said. Indeed, it is all the Law and all the Prophets,” concluded Ramsay.

“How such a view harmonised with Ramsay's own nature,” continues Sir William Tilden, “is illustrated in many an act of charity and benevolence. He never shut his ears to any tale deserving of pity. But many people who have similar charitable impulses draw the line at misfortunes which people bring on themselves. It was not so with Ramsay. An

¹ A foot-note in the memoir asks, Is this not W. D. H., American novelist and poet? Yes, and the poem is the fifth of “Stops of Various Quills,” by William Dean Howells. New York, Harper, 1895.

employe of a society with which he was connected, was discovered to have falsified the books and to have misappropriated moneys entrusted to him. After his defalcations were discovered Ramsay, fearing he might contemplate suicide, went to see him at his house, urged him to make a clean breast of it, and afterwards did everything in his power to win him back to ways of honesty and give him a fresh start in life. Two other cases of a similar kind may be mentioned. One was that of a friend who met with misfortune in business, took to drink, and gradually sank in the social scale. He emigrated subsequently to America. Many people would have been glad to be quit of a friend who might have become very troublesome. That was not Ramsay's way. When he visited America he sought him out and did what was possible to relieve him. The other was a case of matrimonial trouble. The husband was the flagrant offender. He occupied a good position originally, which he forfeited in consequence of the irregular habits into which he fell. Ramsay spared neither time nor trouble in his efforts to reclaim him, and that at a time when he was immersed in his researches and in university business." "Other cases," continues Sir William Tilden, "are known to his friends, but for obvious reasons details cannot be given in these pages. But to omit notice of these facts would be to do less than justice to this fine feature of Ramsay's character."

And in still another paragraph Sir William Tilden throws that same character in similar relief from a slightly different angle:

"Notwithstanding the extraordinary fame of his long series of brilliant discoveries, Ramsay never showed that the height to which he had risen in the eyes of the world lifted him beyond the range of old friendships. Although he left Glasgow in 1880, he kept in close touch all through life with many of the friends of his youth there and was never happier than when in their company, recalling memories of the trials, humours and triumphs of the old days when he was assistant to Professor Ferguson. To his students he was the same sympathetic and kindly teacher at the end as at the beginning of his career, while to his contemporaries he was always friendly and courteous. His spirit and his enthusiasm for scientific research have left their deep impress on students young and old, and through them will pass on to future generations."

This last paragraph brings author, reader and writer literally to the last paragraph of the memoir. To write a review of a biographical memoir is hardly less difficult than the writing of the memoir; and some one has remarked lately that to write a good life is just about as hard as to live one. But, however inadequately the present review may have reflected a very few of the many fine passages in Sir William Tilden's admirable memoir of Sir William Ramsay, it could conclude on no better

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note than the final appraisement of Ramsay's place in science—chemist's appraisement of chemist:

"We look back over the centuries," says Tilden, "and among the founders and master builders of their science we see the outstanding figures of Boyle and Black, Lavoisier, Priestley and Scheele, Cavendish, Davy, and Berzelius, with a few more. The stream of time bears along to oblivion the vast majority of the sons of men, and though in this age of scientific activity there is an ever-increasing army of workers, most of them are engaged in supplying merely the bricks of which the edifice of scientific knowledge is built. They have their reward in their own day and generation. The name of William Ramsay will always stand among those of the Master Builders.

'He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?—Micah vi:8.' "

V

THE FUNCTIONS OF A UNIVERSITY¹

I AM about to speak of the Functions of a University. The word University has borne many significations; and, indeed, its functions are various, and the signification attached to the word has depended on the particular point of view taken at the time. An eminent German, who visited me some years ago, made the remark after seeing University College: "Aber, lieber Herr College, University College ist eine kleine Universität." So it is; for it fulfils most of the functions of the most successful Universities in the world. A countryman of the gifted founder of this College, Thomas Campbell, a man who has left even a deeper mark than he on the literature of the world, said:

"O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as ithers see us!"

Were that gift given us, I am confident that we should have no cause to blush. One of the most necessary conditions of success is confidence in oneself—"a gude consait of oursel's," as the Scots saying has it; and I know that learned men throughout the world look on the work done at University College as among the best produced. And why is this? Because the traditions of University College have always been that it is not merely a place where known facts and theories should be administered in daily doses to young men and young women, but that the duty of the professors, assistant professors, teachers, and advanced students is to increase knowledge. That is the chief function of a University—to increase knowledge.² But it is not the only one.

A University has always been regarded as a training school for the "learned professions," *i.e.* for Theology, Law, and Medicine. The terms of our charter have excluded the first of these branches of knowledge.

¹ Reprinted, by permission of the publishers, from *Essays Biographical and Chemical*. New York, Dutton, 1909.

² In his concluding reference to this oration Sir William Tilden remarks: "There can be little doubt from a comparison of dates and other circumstances that this oration was used as an opportunity of rejoinder to Lord Rosebery, who, as Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, had in the previous month (May, 1901), at the meeting for conferring degrees, being called on to speak, allowed himself to give utterance to views of a wholly different character. For he declared in plain terms that in his opinion the university should teach, but should have nothing to do with research. Although this dictum was received by a considerable section of the audience with evident signs of approval, it certainly excited a great feeling of dis-

Founded as it was in the 'twenties, when admission to Oxford or Cambridge involved either belief in the tenets of the Church of England, or insincerity, it was not possible to provide courses in Theology which should be acceptable to Non-conformists, Jews, and others who desired education. On the whole, it appears to me better that a subject, about which so much difference of opinion exists, should be taught in a separate institution. There are many branches of knowledge which can be adequately discussed without intruding into any sphere of religious controversy; and, indeed, it would be difficult, I imagine, to treat mathematics or chemistry from a sectarian standpoint. I, at least, have never tried. There are subjects which may be placed on the border-line, for example, Philosophy; but such subjects, and they are few in number, might well form part of the curriculum of the theological college, if thought desirable. It is a thousand pities that instead of founding King's College, a theological college had not been established in the immediate neighbourhood of University College; it would have strengthened us, and it would have tended, too, to the advantage of the Church of England. However, what is done can't be undone; and let us wish all prosperity to our sister college, and a long and useful life. We are now friends, and have been friends for many years. May that friendship long continue!

Dismissing the Faculty of Theology, therefore, as out of our power, as well as beyond our wishes, let us turn to the remaining two learned professions. University College, I believe, was the first place in England where a systematic legal education could be obtained. Our chairs of Roman Law, Constitutional Law, and Jurisprudence were the first to be established in England, although such chairs had for long been known on the Continent and in Scotland. "Imitation is the sincerest flattery"; and in the fulness of time, the Inns of Court started a school of their own. Our classes, which used to be crowded, dwindled, and our law-school is certainly not our strongest feature. I am not sufficiently acquainted with English legal education to pronounce an opinion as to whether methods of training as they at present exist in England are the most effective: I have heard rumours that they are not. That must be left to specialists to decide. But arguing from the experience of another

satisfaction in the minds of many persons present. Such a remark falling from the lips of a speaker of such eminence and holding a position of such authority in the university seems to show that at that time he had thought but little about the question. It stands out in marked contrast to the view expressed only a few weeks earlier by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the then newly-constituted University of Birmingham, who exhorted the new university to aim at doing four things: it should teach, it should examine, it should add to knowledge by research, it should show the applications of knowledge. And this is practically the programme set forth in Ramsay's discourse."

faculty, in which the apprenticeship system once existed, and which has changed that system with a view to reform, and judging, too, from experience abroad and in Scotland, I venture to think that some improvement in legal education is possible. If that opinion is correct, it is surely not too much to hope that the claims of University College may be considered as having made the first attempt to systematise legal education in England.

The Faculty of Medicine has existed in a flourishing state since the inception of University College. Not long after the College was built, the old Hospital buildings were erected. One of my predecessors, on a similar occasion to this, has given you an entrancing account of the early history of this side of the College, and has discoursed on the eminent men who filled the chairs in the Medical Faculty. Here young men whose intention it is to enter the medical profession are trained; they now receive five years' instruction in the various branches of knowledge bearing on their important calling. I would point out that this function of a University is professedly a technical one: the training of medical men. True, many researches have been made by the eminent men who have held chairs in this Faculty; but that is not the primary duty of such men; their duty is to train others to exercise a profession. If they advance their subject in doing so, so much the better; it increases the fame of the school, it imparts enthusiasm to their students, and in many cases their discoveries have been of unspeakable benefit to the human race. In a certain sense, every medical man is an investigator; the first essential is that he shall be able to make a correct diagnosis; the next, that he shall prescribe correct treatment. But novelty is not essential; few men evolve new surgical operations or introduce new remedies; and though we have in the past had not a few such, they are not essential for a successful medical school, the object of which is to train good practical working physicians and surgeons. The teaching staff of the Medical Faculty must of necessity be almost all engaged in practice, and, indeed, it would be unfortunate for their students if they were merely theoretical teachers. Let me recapitulate my point: the Medical Faculty is essentially a technical Faculty; the hospital is its workshop.

In England, of recent years, schools of engineering have been attached to the Universities. Abroad and in America they are separate establishments, and are sometimes attached to large engineering works, where the pupils pursue their theoretical and practical studies together, taking the former in the morning, the latter in the afternoon. Here again the subject is a professional one. The object of the student is to become a practical engineer, and all his work is necessarily directed to that end. Like other workers in different fields, his aim is the acquisition and utili-

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sation of "power," but in his case it is his object to direct mechanical and electrical power so as to add to the convenience of the public. A machine is an instrument for converting heat of electrical energy into what is termed "kinetic energy," and it is with the laws and modes of this conversion that he has to deal. Such abstract sciences as chemistry, physics, and geology, therefore, are studied as means to an end; not for their own sakes. They afford him a glimpse of the principles on which his engineering practice is based; and mathematics is essential in order that he may be able to apply physical principles to the practical problems of his profession.

We see, then, that a University, as it at present exists, provides, or may provide, technical instruction for theologians, for lawyers, for medical men, and for engineers. It is, in fact, an advanced technical school for these subjects.

But it is more, and I believe that its chief function lies in the kind of work which I shall attempt now to describe. The German Universities possess what they term a "Philosophical Faculty"; and this phrase is to be accepted in the derivational meaning of the word—a faculty which loves wisdom or learning. The watchword of the members of this faculty is Research; the searching out the secrets of Nature, to use a current phrase; or the attempt to create new knowledge. The whole machinery of the Philosophical Faculty is devised to achieve this end; the selection of the teachers, the equipment of the laboratories and libraries, the awarding of the degrees.

What are the advantages of research? Much is heard nowadays regarding the necessity of state provision for its encouragement, and the Government places at the disposal of the Royal Society a sum of no less than £4000 a year, which is distributed in the form of grants to applicants who are deemed suitable by committees appointed to consider their claims to assistance.

There are two views regarding the advantage of research which have been held. The first of these may be termed the utilitarian view. You all know the tale of the man of science who was asked the use of research, and who parried with the question, What is the use of a baby? Well, I imagine that one school of political economists would oppose the practice of child-murder on the ground that potentially valuable property was being destroyed. These persons would probably not be those who stood to the baby in a parental relation. Nor are the most successful investigators those who pursue their inquiries with the hope of profit, but for the love of them. It is, however, a good thing, I believe, that the *profanum vulgus* should hold the view that research is remunerative to the public—as some forms of it undoubtedly are.

The second view may be termed the philosophical one. It is one held by lovers of wisdom in all its various forms. It explains itself, for the human race is differentiated from the lower animals by the desire which it has to know "why." You may have noticed, as I have, that one of the first words uttered by that profound philosopher, a small child, is "why?" Indeed it becomes wearisome by its iteration. We are the superiors of the brutes in that we can hand down our knowledge. It may be that some animals also seek for knowledge; but, at best, it is of use to themselves alone; they cannot transmit it to their posterity, except possibly by way of hereditary faculties. We, on the contrary, can write and read; and this places us, if we like, in possession of the accumulated wisdom of the ages.

Now the most important function, I hold, of a University is to attempt to answer that question "why?" The ancients tried to do so; but they had not learned that its answer must be preceded by the answer to the question "how?" and that in most cases—indeed in all—we must learn to be contented with the answer to 'how?' The better we can tell *how* things are, the more nearly shall we be able to say *why* they are.

Such a question is applicable to all kinds of subjects: to what our fore-runners on this earth did; how they lived; if we go even further back, what preceded them on the earth. The history of these inquiries is the function of geology, palæontology, and palæontological botany; it is continued through archæology, Egyptian and Assyrian, Greek and Roman; it evolves into history, and lights are thrown on it by languages and philology; it dovetails with literature and economics. In all these, research is possible; and a University should be equipped for the successful prosecution of inquiries in all such branches.

Another class of inquiries relates to what we think and how we reason; and here we have philosophy and logic. A different branch of the same inquiry leads us to mathematics, which deals with spatial and numerical concepts of the human mind, geometry and algebra. By an easy transition we have the natural sciences; those less closely connected with ourselves as persons, but intimately related to our surroundings. Zoölogy and botany, anatomy, physiology and pathology deal with living organisms as structural machines; and they are based on physics and chemistry, which are themselves dependent on mathematics.

Such inquiries are worth making for their own sakes. They interest a large part of the human race; and not to feel interested in them is to lack intelligence. The man who is content to live from day to day, glad if each day will but produce him food to eat and a roof to sleep under, is but little removed from an uncivilised being. For the test of civilisation is *provision*; care to look forward; to provide for to-morrow; the

morrow of the race, as well as the morrow of the individual; and he who looks furthest ahead is best able to cope with Nature, and to conquer her.

The investigation of the unknown is to gather experience from those who have lived before us, and to secure knowledge for ourselves and for those who will succeed us. I see, however, that I am insensibly taking a utilitarian view; I by no means wish to exclude it, but the chief purpose of research must be the acquisition of knowledge, and the second its utilisation.

I will try to explain why this is so, and here you must forgive me if I cite well-known and oft-quoted instances.

If attempts were made to discover only useful knowledge (and by useful I accept the vulgar definition of profitable, *i.e.* knowledge which can be directly transmuted into its money equivalent), these attempts would, in many, if not in most cases, fail of their object. I do not say that once a principle has been proved, and a practical application is to be made of it, that the working out of the details is not necessary. But that is best done by the practical man, be he the parson, the doctor, the engineer, the technical electrician, or the chemist, and best of all on a fairly large scale. If, however, the practical end be always kept in view, the chances are that there will be no advance in principles. Indeed, what we investigators wish to be able to do, and what in many cases we can do, although perhaps very imperfectly, is to prophesy, to foretell what a given combination of circumstances will produce. The desire is founded on a belief in the uniformity of Nature; on the conviction that what has been will again be, should the original conditions be reproduced. By studying the consequences of varying the conditions our knowledge is extended; indeed it is sometimes possible to go so far as to predict what will happen under conditions, all of which have never before been seen to be present together.

When Faraday discovered the fact that if a magnet is made to approach a coil of wire, an electric current is induced in that wire, he made a discovery which at the time was of only scientific interest. That discovery has resulted in electric light, electric traction, and the utilisation of electricity as a motive power; the development of a means of transmitting energy, of which we have by no means seen the end; nay, we are even now only at its inception, so great must the advance in its utilisation ultimately become.

When Hofmann set Perkin as a young student to investigate the products of oxidation of the base aniline, produced by him from coal-tar, it would have been impossible to have predicted that one manufactory alone would possess nearly 400 large buildings and employ 5000 workmen, living in its own town of 25,000 inhabitants, all of which is devoted

to the manufacture of colours from aniline and other coal-tar products. In this work alone at least 350 chemists are employed, most of whom have had a university training.

Schönbein, a Swiss schoolmaster, interested in chemistry, was struck by the action of nitric acid on paper and cotton. He would have been astounded if he had been told that his experiments would have resulted in the employment of his nitrocelluloses in colossal quantity for blasting, and for ordnance of all kinds, from the 90-ton gun to the fowling-piece.

But discoveries such as these, which lead directly to practical results, are yet far inferior in importance to others in which a general principle is involved. Joule and Robert Mayer, who proved the equivalence of heat and work, have had far more influence on succeeding ages than even the discoverers above mentioned, for they have imbued a multitude of minds with a correct understanding of the nature of energy, and the possibility of converting it economically into that form in which it is most directly useful for the purpose in view. They have laid the basis of reasoning for *machines*; and it is on machines, instruments for converting unavailable into available energy, that the prosperity of the human race depends.

You will see from these instances that it is in reality "philosophy" or a love of wisdom which, after all, is most to be sought after. Like virtue, it is its own reward; and as we all hope is the case with virtue too, it brings other rewards in its train; not, be it remarked, always to the philosopher, but to the race. Virtue, pursued with the direct object of gain, is a poor thing; indeed, it can hardly be termed virtue, if it is dimmed by a motive. So philosophy, if followed after for profit, loses its meaning.

But I have omitted to mention another motive which makes for research; it is a love of pleasure. I can conceive no pleasure greater than that of the poet—the maker—who wreathes beautiful thoughts with beautiful words; but next to this, I would place the pleasure of discovery, in whatever sphere it be made. It is a pleasure not merely to the discoverer, but to all who can follow the train of his reasoning. And after all, the pleasure of the human race, or of the thinking portion of it, counts for a good deal in this life of ours.

To return:—attempts at research, guided by purely utilitarian motives, generally fail in their object, or at least are not likely to be so productive as research without ulterior motive. I am strengthened in this conclusion by the verdict of an eminent German who has himself put the principle into practice; who after following out a purely theoretical line of experiment, which at first appeared remote from profit, has been rewarded by its remunerative utilisation. He remarked, incidentally, that the pro-

fessors in Polytechnika—what we should term technical colleges, intended to prepare young men for the professions of engineering and technical chemistry—were less known for their influence on industry than University professors. The aim is different in the two cases; the Polytechnika train men for a profession; the Philosophical Faculty of a German University aims at imparting a love of knowledge; and as a matter of fact the latter *pay* in their influence on the prosperity of the nation better than the former. And this brings me to the fundamental premiss of my Oration. It is this: That the best preparation for success in any calling is the training of the student in methods of research. This should be the goal to be clearly kept in view by all teachers in the Philosophical Faculties of Universities. They should teach with this object: to awaken in each of their students a love of his subject, and a consciousness that if he persevere, he, too, will be able to extend its bounds.

Of course it is necessary for the student to learn, so far as is possible, what has already been done. I would not urge that a young man should not master, or at all events study, a great deal of what has already been discovered, before he attempts to soar on his own wings. But there is all the difference in the world between the point of view of the student who reads in order to qualify for an examination, or to gain a prize or a scholarship, and the student who reads because he knows that thus he will acquire knowledge which may be used as a basis of new knowledge. It is that spirit in which our Universities in England are so lamentably deficient; it is that spirit which has contributed to the success of the Teutonic nations, and which is beginning to influence the United States. For this condition of things our examinational system is largely to blame; originally started to remedy the abuses of our Civil Service, it has eaten into the vitals of our educational system like a canker; and it is fostered by the farther abuse of awarding scholarships as the results of examinations. The pauperisation of the richer classes is a crying evil; it must some day be cured. Let scholarships be awarded to those who need them; not to those whose fathers can well afford to pay for the education of their children. "Pot-hunting" and Philosophy have absolutely nothing in common.

There are some who hold that the time of an investigator is wasted in teaching the elements of his subject. I am not one of those who believe this doctrine, and for two reasons: first, it is more difficult to teach the elements of a subject than the more advanced branches; one learns the tricks of the trade by long practice; and the tricks of this trade consist in the easy and orderly presentment of ideas. And it is the universal experience that senior students gain more good from instruction in advanced subjects by demonstrators than juniors would in elementary sub-

jects. For the senior student makes allowances; and the keenness and interest of the young instructor awakens *his* interest. Second, from the teachers' point of view, it is always well to be obliged to go back on fundamentals. One is too apt, without the duty of delivering elementary lectures, to take these fundamentals for granted; whereas, if they are recapitulated every year, the light of other knowledge is brought to bear on them, and they are given their true proportion; indeed, ideas occur which often suggest lines of research. It is really the simplest things which we know least of: the atomic theory; the true nature of elasticity; the cause of the ascent of sap in plants; the mechanism of exchange in respiration and digestion; all these lie at the base of their respective sciences, and all could bear much elucidation. I believe, therefore, that it is conducive to the furtherance of knowledge that the investigator should be actively engaged in teaching. But he should always keep in view the fact that his pupils should themselves learn how to investigate; and he should endeavour to inculcate that spirit in them.

It follows that the teachers in the Philosophical Faculty should be selected only from those who are themselves contributing to the advancement of knowledge; for if they have not the spirit of research in them how shall they instil it into others? It is our carelessness in this respect (I do not speak of University College, which has always been guided by these principles, but of our country as a whole) which has made us so backward as compared with some other nations. It is this which has made the vast majority of our statesmen so careless, because so ignorant, of the whole frame of mind of the philosopher; and which has made it possible for men high in the political estimation of their countrymen to misconceive the functions of a University. It is true that one of these functions of a University is to "train men and women fit for the manifold requirements of the Empire"; that we should all heartily acknowledge; but no man who has any claim to University culture can possibly be contented if the University does not annually produce much work of research. It is its chief excuse for existence; a University which does not increase knowledge is no University; it may be a technical school; it may be an examining board; it may be a coaching establishment; but it has no claim to the name University. The best way of fitting young men for the manifold requirements of the Empire is to give them the power of advancing knowledge.

It may be said that many persons are incapable of exhibiting originality. I doubt it. There are many degrees of originality, as there are many degrees of rhyming, from the writer of doggerel to the poet, or many degrees of musical ear, from the man who knows two tunes, the tune of "God save the King" and the *other* tune, to the accomplished musician.

But in almost all cases, if caught young, the human being can be trained, more or less; and, as a matter of fact, natural selection plays its part. Those young men and women who have no natural aptitude for such work—and they are usually known by the lack of interest which they take in it—do not come to the University. My experience is that the majority, or at least a fair percentage of those who do come, possess germs of the faculty of originating, germs capable of development, in many instances, to a very high degree. It is such persons who are of most value to the country; it is from them that advance in literature and in science is to be expected; and many of them will contribute to the commercial prosperity of the country. We hear much nowadays of technical education; huge sums of money are being annually expended on the scrappy scientific education in evening classes of men who have passed a hard day in manual labour, men who lack the previous training necessary to enable them to profit by such instruction. It may be that it is desirable to provide such intellectual relaxation; I even grant that such means may gradually raise the intellectual level of the country; but the investment of money in promoting such schemes is not the one likely to bear the most immediate and remunerative fruit. The Universities should be the technical schools; for a man who has learned to investigate can bring his talents to bear on any subject brought under his notice, and it is on the advance, and not the mere dissemination of knowledge, that the prosperity of a country depends. To learn to investigate requires a long and a hard apprenticeship; the power cannot be acquired by an odd hour spent now and again; it is as difficult to become a successful investigator as a successful barrister or doctor, and it requires at least as hard application and as long a period of study.

I do not believe that it is possible for young men or women to devote sufficient time during the evening to such work. Those who devote their evening hours to study and investigation do not bring fresh brains to bear on the subject; they are already fatigued by a long day's work; and, moreover, it is the custom in most of the colleges which have evening classes to insist upon their teachers doing a certain share of day work; they, too, are not in a fit state to direct the work of their pupils nor to make suggestions as to the best method of carrying it out. Moreover, the official evening class is from seven to ten o'clock, and for investigation in science a spell of three hours at a time is barely sufficient to carry out successfully the end in view; indeed, an eight hours' day might profitably be lengthened into a twelve hours' day, as it not infrequently is. It is heartrending in the middle of some important experiment to be obliged to close and postpone it till a future occasion, when much of the work must necessarily be done over again.

These are some of the reasons why I doubt whether University education, in the Philosophical Faculty at least, can be successfully given by means of evening classes.

Although my work has lain almost entirely in the domain of science, I should be the last man not to do my best to encourage research in the sphere of what is generally called "arts." In Germany of recent years a kind of institution has sprung up which is termed a *Seminar*. The word may be translated a "literary laboratory." I will endeavour to give a short sketch on the way in which these literary laboratories are conducted. After the student has attended a course of lectures on the subjects to which he intends to devote himself, and is ripe for research, he enters a Seminar, in which he is provided with a library, paper, pens and ink, and a subject. The method of using the library is pointed out to him, and he is told to read books which bear on the particular subject in question; he is made to collate the information which he gains by reading, and to elaborate the subject which is given him. Naturally his first efforts must be crude, but *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*. It probably costs him blame at the hands of his instructor; after a few unsuccessful efforts, however, if he has any talent for the particular investigation to which he has devoted himself, his efforts improve and at last he produces something respectable enough to merit publication. Thus he is exposed to the criticism of those best competent to judge, and he is launched in what may be a career in Historical, Literary, or Economic research.

Such a Seminar is carried on in philological and linguistic studies, in problems of economy involving statistics, in problems of law involving judicial decision, and of history in which the relations between the development of the various phases in the progress of nations is traced. The system is borrowed from the well-known plan of instruction in a physical or chemical laboratory. Experiments are made in literary style. These experiments are subjected to the criticism of the teacher, and thus the investigator is trained. But it may be objected that the youths who frequent our Universities have not a sufficient knowledge of facts connected with such subjects to be capable of at once entering on a training of this kind. That may be so; if it is the case, our schools must look to it that they provide sufficient training. Even under present circumstances, however, I do not think I am mistaken in supposing that a young man or woman who enters a University at the age of eighteen years with the intention of spending three years in literary or historical studies will not at the end of the second year be more benefited by a course at the Seminar, even though it should result in no permanent addition to literature or history, than if he were to spend his time in mere assimilation. It is

not the act of gaining knowledge which profits, it is the power of using it, and while in order to use knowledge it is necessary to gain it, yet a training in the method of using knowledge is much more important and profitable than a training in the method of gaining it. I do not know whether there exists in this country a single example of the continental Seminar; there was some talk of founding such a literary laboratory in University College, but, as usual, the attempt was frustrated by a lack of funds; the attempt would also have been frustrated by the requirements of the present system of examination in the University of London; but there is, fortunately, good hope of changing that system and of developing the minds of students on those lines which have proved so fruitful where they have been systematically followed.¹

There is one subject, of which the votaries are so few that it is difficult to treat in the same manner as those literary and scientific subjects of which I have been speaking; that subject is mathematics. While many persons have a certain amount of mathematical ability which they cultivate as a means to an end, those who are born mathematicians are as few as those who are born musicians. I have had the privilege of discussing this question with one of the foremost mathematicians of Europe—Professor Klein of Göttingen. He tells me that while he is content for the most part to treat mathematics as a technical study, imparting to his pupils so much as is necessary for them to use it easily as an instrument, he discourages young men, unless they are especially endowed by Nature, from pursuing the study of mathematics with the object of cultivating a gift for that subject. Especially gifted men occasionally turn up, and those who possess mathematical insight are able to profit by the instruction of the professor in developing some special branch of the subject. Mathematical problems, he tells me, are numerous, but they demand such an extensive knowledge of what has already been done that very few persons who do not devote their lives to the subject are able to cope with them, and it is only those who are born with a mathematical gift who can afford to devote their lives to mathematics, for the standard is high, and the prizes are few.

Many, I suppose, who are at present listening to me would be disappointed were I not to refer to the functions of a University with reference to examinations. A long course of training, lasting now for the best part of seventy years, has convinced the population of London that the chief function of a University is to examine. Believe me, the examination should play only a secondary part in the work of a University. It is necessary to test the acquirements of the students whom the teachers

¹ Several Seminars have now been started at University College (September, 1908).

have under their charge, but the examination should play an entirely subordinate part. To be successful in examinations is unfortunately too often the goal which the young student aims at, but it is one which all philosophical teachers deprecate. To infuse into his pupils a love of the subject which both are at the same time teaching and learning, is the chief object of an enthusiastic teacher; there should be an atmosphere of the subject surrounding them—an umbra—perhaps I should call it an aura; for it should exert no depressing influence upon them. The object of both classes of students (for I count the teacher a student) should be to do their best to increase knowledge of the subject on which they are engaged. That this is possible, many teachers can testify to by experience; and it is the chief lesson learned by a sojourn in a German laboratory. Where each student is himself engaged in research, interest is taken by the students in each other's work; numerous discussions are raised regarding each questionable point: and the combined intelligence of the whole laboratory is focussed on the elucidation of some difficult problem. There is nothing more painful to witness than a dull and decorous laboratory, where each student keeps to his own bench, does not communicate with his fellow-students, does not take an interest in their work, and expects them to manifest no interest in his. It is only by friction that heat can be produced, and heat, by increasing the frequency of vibration, results, as we know, in light.

The student should look forward to this examination not as a solemn ordeal which he is compelled to go through with the prospect of a degree should he be successful, but as a means of showing his teacher and his fellows how much he has profited by the work which he has done; those who pursue knowledge in this spirit and those, be it remarked, who examine in this spirit will look forward to examination with no apprehension; not, perhaps, with joy, for after all it is a bore to be examined and perhaps a still greater bore to examine, but it is a necessary step for the student in gaining self-assurance and the conviction of having profited by his exertions; and for the teacher, as a means of insuring that his instruction has not been profitless to his student. In this connection I cannot refrain from remarking that that genius for competition which has overridden our nation of England, appears to me to be misplaced. Far too much is thought of the top man; very likely the second or even the tenth, or it may be the fiftieth, has a firmer grasp of his subject, and in the long run would display more talent. Let us take comfort, however, in the thought that the day of examinations, for the sake of examinations, is approaching an end.

It may surprise many to learn that the suggestion that in England teachers do not usually examine their own pupils for degrees, is, abroad,

received in a spirit of surprise not unmixed with incredulity. Americans and Germans to whom I have mentioned this state of matters, cannot realise that the teacher is not considered fit to be trusted to examine his own pupils, and, singular to state, they maintain that no one else can possibly do so with any attempt at fairness; it appears to them, as it appears to me, an altogether untenable position to hold that a man selected to fill an important professorship, after many years' trial in a junior position, should be suspected of such (shall I say) ambiguous ideas regarding common honesty, that he will always arbitrate unfairly in favour of his own pupils. Such a supposition is an insult to the professor; and the exclusion of the teacher elevates examination to the position of a fetish; it is that, together with the spirit of emulation and competition, which has done so much to ruin our English education. The idea of competitive examination is so ingrained in the minds of Englishmen that it is difficult for them to realise that the object of a University is not primarily to examine its pupils, but to teach them to teach themselves; and also they have still to acquire the conviction that students should be found not merely among the *alumni* of the University but also among all members of the staff. The spirit which should prevail with us should be the spirit of gaining knowledge—gaining knowledge not for the satisfaction of one's own sense of acquisitiveness, but in order to be able to increase the sum total of what is known. All should work together, senior and junior staff, graduates and undergraduates, in order to diminish man's ignorance.

To sum up. As it exists at present, a University is a technical school for theology, law, medicine, and engineering. It ought to be also a place for the advancement of knowledge, for the training of philosophers, of those who love wisdom for its own sake; and while as a technical school it exercises a useful function in preparing many men and women for their calling in life, its philosophical faculty should impart to those who enter its halls that faculty of increasing knowledge which cannot fail to be profitable not only to the intellect of the nation, but also to its industrial prosperity. I regard this as the chief function of a University.

WILLIAM RAMSAY.

VISIT OF BRITISH MISSION TO RICE

THE immediately following paragraphs present a sketch of the preliminary programme for an academic festival now being arranged in appreciation of a visit to the Rice Institute from the British Educational Mission to the universities of the United States. The object of the Mission, visiting America for two months on invitation of the Council of National Defense, is to study typical American institutions and confer with representative American educators with a view to establishing closer relations in the future between the universities of Great Britain and those of the United States, through the interchange of instructors, students, academic credits, and educational experience. The tentative itinerary of the Mission's American journey, planned to extend from October 8th to December 7th inclusive, covers, among other institutions, the following in order: Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Yale, and Harvard, in the East; McGill, Toronto, Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, in the North; Cincinnati, Kentucky, Washington, Vanderbilt, Tulane, Rice, and Virginia, in the South; with a number of side trips by individual members of the Mission. The Rice visit of the entire Mission will be of at least three days' duration, beginning Monday, November 25th, while several members may be able to extend their stay in Houston to five days or longer.

All the members of the Mission have consented to deliver lectures at the Rice Institute. In particular, three of these lectures will inaugurate the newly-founded Sharp lectureship in civics and philanthropy. The programme of the festival will include these lectures on science and the humanities, together with conferences on education, reconstruction, and the wider horizons of state, church and university after the war. Invitations are being extended to the Governors and other publicists of Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana to participate in these conferences. And the college professors and schoolmasters throughout this same section are being invited to take part in the discussions. It is also proposed to publish the lectures and accounts of the conferences in the next volume of the Rice Institute Pamphlet.

I

PERSONNEL OF THE BRITISH MISSION

DR. ARTHUR EVERETT SHIPLEY

Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Master of Christ's
College and Reader in Zoölogy

SIR HENRY MIERS

Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester and Professor of
Crystallography

THE REV. EDWARD MEWBURN WALKER

Fellow, Senior Tutor, and Librarian of Queen's College, Member of
the Hebdomadal Council, Oxford University

SIR HENRY JONES

Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Glasgow

DR. JOHN JOLY

Professor of Geology and Mineralogy, Trinity College, Dublin

MISS CAROLINE SPURGEON

Professor of English Literature, Bedford College, University of London

MISS ROSE SIDGWICK

Lecturer on Ancient History, University of Birmingham

II

RICE LECTURES BY MEMBERS OF THE MISSION

DR. ARTHUR EVERETT SHIPLEY,

"The Depths of the Sea."

DR. JOHN JOLY,

"Recent Advances in Our Knowledge of Pleochroic Haloes."

SIR HENRY MIERS,

"The Birth and Growth of Crystals."

MISS ROSE SIDGWICK,

"The League of Nations."

MISS CAROLINE SPURGEON,

"Some Characteristics of English Poetry Immediately Before the
War (1900-1914)."

THE REV. EDWARD MEWBURN WALKER,

"The Newly Discovered Fragments of Ephorus and their Bearing on the Authorship of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*."

"The University of Oxford," a popular lecture illustrated by lantern slides.

SIR HENRY JONES,

"The Obligations and Privileges of Citizenship," a series of three lectures, inaugurating the recently founded Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy at the Rice Institute.

I. The State and the Citizen.

II. The Conditions of Good Citizenship.

III. The Rights of the State and the Rights of Humanity.

III

CONFERENCES ON EDUCATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

"History after the War," by Professor DANA CARLETON MUNRO, of Princeton University.

"Science after the War," by Professor HAROLD ALBERT WILSON, F.R.S., of the Rice Institute.

"Education in Texas after the War," by the HON. WILLIAM PETTUS HOBBS, Governor of Texas.

"A Republic of Nations," by Professor RALEIGH COLSTON MINOR, of the University of Virginia.

"A Federation of Churches," by Professor HERBERT LOCKWOOD WILLET, of the University of Chicago.

"A League of Learning," by Professor SIR HENRY JONES, F.B.A., of the University of Glasgow.

IV

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME OF THE ACADEMIC FESTIVAL, BEGINNING MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25TH

MONDAY

11:00 A. M.

Reception of the Mission in the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, the President of the Institute presiding.

Address of welcome.

Visit of British Mission to Rice

Responses by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and the Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow.

1:00 P. M.

Luncheon in honor of the Mission, given by the Municipal Government at the Rice Hotel, the Mayor of Houston presiding.

Addresses of welcome by the Governor of Texas, and the Chairman of the Trustees of the Rice Institute.

Responses by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, and the Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at Trinity College, Dublin.

4:30 P. M.

In the Physics Amphitheatre of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The Depths of the Sea," by DR. ARTHUR EVERETT SHIPLEY, F.R.S., of the University of Cambridge; Professor PERCY JOHN DANIELL of the Rice Institute presiding.

8:00 P. M.

In the Physics Amphitheatre of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "Recent Advances in Our Knowledge of Pleochroic Haloes," by DR. JOHN JOLY, F.R.S., of Trinity College, Dublin; Professor CLAUDE WILLIAM HEAPS of the Rice Institute presiding.

9:30 P. M.

Reception in honor of the Mission at the residence of the Chairman of the Trustees, Captain JAMES ADDISON BAKER.

TUESDAY

9:30 A. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, the President of the Institute presiding, Conference on Education after the War, opened by addresses on:

"History after the War," by DR. DANA CARLETON MUNRO, Professor of Mediæval History at Princeton University.

"Science after the War," by DR. HAROLD ALBERT WILSON, F.R.S., Professor of Physics at the Rice Institute.

"Education in Texas after the War," by the HON. WILLIAM PETTUS HOBBY, Governor of Texas.

The members of the Mission and other guests will participate in the discussion of the subjects of these addresses.

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12:15 P. M.

Luncheon in honor of the Mission, given by the Chamber of Commerce at the Rice Hotel, the chair being held in succession by VICE-PRESIDENT CAGE and EX-PRESIDENT PEDEN of the Chamber.

Responses to toasts will be made by the Brigadier-General of the United States Army in command at Camp Logan, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester.

4:30 P. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The Newly Discovered Fragments of Ephorus and their Bearing on the Authorship of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*," by the REV. DR. EDWARD MEWBURN WALKER, of the University of Oxford; Professor CLYDE CHEW GLASCOCK of the Rice Institute presiding.

8:00 P. M.

In the Physics Amphitheatre of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The Birth and Growth of Crystals," by Professor SIR HENRY ALEXANDER MIERS, F.R.S., of the University of Manchester; Professor HAROLD ALBERT WILSON, F.R.S., of the Rice Institute presiding.

9:30 P. M.

Smoker, in honor of the Mission, given by the University Club, in the rooms of the Club.

WEDNESDAY

9:30 A. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, the President of the Institute presiding, Conference on Reconstruction after the War, opened by addresses on:

"A Republic of Nations after the War," by MR. RALEIGH COLSTON MINOR, Professor of Constitutional and International Law at the University of Virginia.

"A Federation of Churches after the War," by DR. HERBERT LOCKWOOD WILLETT, Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago.

"A League of Learning after the War," by SIR HENRY JONES, F.B.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow.

Visit of British Mission to Rice

The members of the Mission and other guests will participate in the discussions following these addresses.

1:00 P. M.

Luncheon in honor of the Mission, given by the City Board of Education at the South End Junior High School, the Superintendent of Public Schools presiding.

Responses to toasts will be made by the Senior Tutor and Librarian of Queen's College, Oxford University, and the Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at Trinity College, Dublin.

4:30 P. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The State and the Citizen," the first of a series of three lectures on "The Obligations and Privileges of Citizenship," inaugurating the recently founded Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy, by Professor SIR HENRY JONES, F.B.A., of the University of Glasgow; Professor ROBERT GRANVILLE CALDWELL of the Rice Institute presiding.

8:00 P. M.

In the Physics Amphitheatre of the Rice Institute, an illustrated lecture on "The University of Oxford," by the REV. DR. EDWARD MEWBURN WALKER, of the University of Oxford; Professor FREDERIC THOMAS BLANCHARD of the Rice Institute presiding.

9:00 P. M.

Trustees' dinner in honor of the Mission, at the Commons of the First Residential Hall, the Chairman of the Trustees presiding.

THURSDAY

4:30 P. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The Conditions of Good Citizenship," the second of the series of three lectures on "The Obligations and Privileges of Citizenship," inaugurating the recently founded Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy, by Professor SIR HENRY JONES, F.B.A., of the University of Glasgow; Professor WILLIAM WARD WATKIN of the Rice Institute presiding.

8:00 P. M.

In the Physics Amphitheatre of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "Some Characteristics of English Poetry Immediately Before the War (1900-

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1914)," by MISS CAROLINE F. E. SPURGEON, Professor of English Literature at Bedford College, University of London; Professor BENJAMIN MATHER WOODBRIDGE of the Rice Institute presiding.

FRIDAY

4:30 P. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The Rights of the State and the Rights of Humanity," the third of the series of three lectures on "The Obligations and Privileges of Citizenship," inaugurating the recently founded Sharp Lectureship in Civics and Philanthropy, by Professor Sir HENRY JONES, F.B.A., of the University of Glasgow; Professor RADOSLAV ANDREA TSANOFF of the Rice Institute presiding.

8:00 P. M.

In the Physics Amphitheatre of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The League of Nations," by MISS ROSE SIDGWICK, of the University of Birmingham; Professor HERBERT KAY HUMPHREY of the Rice Institute presiding.

RICE VISIT FROM FRENCH MISSION

THE American Council on Education has announced that, under the patronage of the French Government, and with the encouragement of the Government of the United States, an Official Mission of French Scholars will visit the United States this autumn, arriving early in November and remaining through December. According to the announcement the Mission is coming in response to specific and repeated requests from several American institutions of learning to have representative French scholars interpret to them the dominant elements of French culture, as a means of binding France and America more closely together in intellectual sympathy. The Mission is composed of some of the leading scholars of France. The members propose to deliver lectures in English before universities, colleges, learned societies and other bodies on different aspects of French civilization, according to the specialties of its several representatives.

I

PERSONNEL OF THE FRENCH MISSION

PROFESSOR THEODORE REINACH, Editor of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Lieutenant-Colonel in the French Army, who has contributed several important studies to the History of Greece and other subjects, is editor of the most important French review dealing with the study of Ancient and Modern Art, and a member of the "Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres." He will give illustrated lectures on a "Comparison of French and Athenian Education," "The Share of France in the Resurrection of Greek Art," "Greek Temples and Gothic Cathedrals," and "Martyr Monuments, Reims, Coucy, Arras."

Professor Emmanuel de Martonne of the University of Paris, Exchange Professor at Columbia, 1916, of whom the Bulletin of Columbia University says: "One of the most widely known French geographers; is the author of the best treatise on physical geography in the French language and of important reports on the Alps, the Carpathians and different regions of France." This is Professor de Martonne's fourth visit

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to the United States. He will deliver illustrated lectures on "The Real France Revealed in Her Scenery and Peoples" and "Paris and the Parisian Region."

Professor Fernand Baldensperger, of the University of Paris, now of Columbia University, a distinguished humanist, who has traveled extensively in Europe, America and Asia and published several illuminating studies on comparative literature. The subjects of his lectures are: "Human Tendencies in French Literature" and "Modern French Poetry."

Professor Louis Cazamian, Professor of English Literature in the University of Paris, Lieutenant in the French Army, is the author of remarkable studies on the social aspects of English literature, especially on the novels of the middle of the nineteenth century. He will speak on the "Unity of France," "The France of To-day and To-morrow," "The Personality of France."

Dr. Étienne Burnet, of the Pasteur Institute (Paris), Surgeon in the French Army. After having made extensive research in the field of philosophy, Dr. Burnet took the M. D. degree and became a member of the Pasteur Institute as a specialist in microbiology. He will lecture on "Pasteur as a Representative of the French Scientific Spirit," "Claude Bernard, the French Master of Biology," and "Experiences of a French Surgeon on Different Fronts" (illustrated).

Mr. Charles Koechlin, composer and musical critic, who has contributed a number of interesting studies to the History of French Music, will lecture on "Tradition in French Music" and "Modern French Music."

Mr. Seymour de Ricci, art critic and former editor of *Art in Europe*, a distinguished scholar known to every "amateur," whose contributions to the history of art are greatly appreciated throughout the world. His lectures are on "The Castles of the Loire," "From Watteau to Fragonard," and "Art in Old French Homes."

II

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME OF RICE LECTURES

THE Mission will cover the North American continent in three groups. The group taking the most southerly route to the Pacific Coast via New Orleans, Houston, and Los Angeles, will consist of Professor and Mrs. Louis Cazamian, Mr. Charles Koechlin, and Professor Emmanuel de Martonne. This party expects to reach Houston from New Orleans early in the morning of Monday, December 9th, de-

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parting on the 10th for the Grand Canyon. The following programme has been arranged for the visit to the Rice Institute:

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9TH

11:30 A. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "The Real France Revealed in Her Scenery and Peoples," by Dr. EMMANUEL DE MARTONNE, Professor of Geography at the University of Paris; Professor BENJAMIN MATHER WOODBRIDGE of the Rice Institute presiding.

3:00 P. M.

In the Faculty Chamber of the Rice Institute, a lecture on the "Unity of France," by Dr. LOUIS CAZAMIAN, Professor of English Literature at the University of Paris; Professor FREDERIC THOMAS BLANCHARD of the Rice Institute presiding.

5:00 P. M.

At the Majestic Theatre, a lecture on "Tradition in French Music," by Mr. CHARLES KOECHLIN, composer and musical critic, with vocal music illustrations by Mrs. LOUIS CAZAMIAN; Dr. LESTER BURTON STRUTHERS of the Rice Institute presiding.

8:00 P. M.

In the Physics Amphitheatre of the Rice Institute, a lecture on "Family Life in France," by Mrs. LOUIS CAZAMIAN, visiting lecturer; Dr. NEIL COLE ARVIN of the Rice Institute presiding.

9:30 P. M.

Trustees' Dinner in Hall in honor of the members of the Mission, the President of the Institute presiding.

It is proposed to publish the above mentioned lectures in the next volume of the Rice Institute Pamphlet.

ENGLISH EDUCATION ACT OF 1918 THE FISHER BILL¹

I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND FORECAST OF THE BILL

LASTLY,—or rather firstly, and as the preliminary of all,—would there not be a Minister of Education? Minister charged to get this English People taught a little, at his and our peril! Minister of Education; no longer dolefully embayed amid the wreck of moribund ‘religions,’ but clear ahead of all that; steering free and piously fearless, towards *his* divine goal under the eternal stars!—O Heaven, and are these things forever impossible, then? Not a whit. To-morrow morning they might all begin to be, and go on through blessed centuries realizing themselves, if it were not that—alas, if it were not that we are most of us insincere persons, sham talking-machines and hollow windy fools! Which it is *not* ‘impossible’ that we should cease to be, I hope?”

Thus complained and counseled Thomas Carlyle in his “New Down-
ing Street” Latter-Day Pamphlet of 1850. Many of the accompanying recommendations to his countrymen could hardly be given serious consideration, and in these more immediate latter days his voice may no longer carry far; but when he called for a “Minister of Education” he was anticipating a future call of the “immeasurable Democracy,” whose “rising everywhere monstrous, loud, blatant, inarticulate as the voice of Chaos,” he himself had in an earlier pamphlet so loudly and articulately deplored.

Eighteen years later, in 1868, Matthew Arnold proposed a revolutionary scheme for public education in England, placing “at the apex of the pyramid a Minister of Education.” And again eighteen years later, when he had retired from his inspectorship of schools, he returned to this subject on addressing a gathering of teachers at Westminster in 1886, saying, “I know the Duke of Richmond told the House of Lords that, as Lord

¹ This article has been prepared for use in connection with the Rice Institute conferences on education and reconstruction, to be held during the visit of the British Educational Mission; and especially for the convenience of the school and college men and women of Texas and the surrounding States, all of whom are being invited to participate in the conferences.

President, he was Minister of Education [Laughter]; but really the Duke of Richmond's sense of humor must have been slumbering when he told the House of Lords that. A man is not Minister of Education by taking the name, but by doing the functions. [Cheers.] To do the functions he must put his mind to the subject of education; and so long as Lord Presidents are what they are, and education is what it is, a Lord President will not be a man who puts his mind to the subject of education. A Vice-President¹ is not, on the Lord President's own showing, and cannot be, Minister for Education. He cannot be made responsible for faults and neglects. Now what we want in a Minister for Education is this—a centre where we can fix responsibility."

It was only in 1916 that Carlyle's counsel of 1850 was fully heeded and Arnold's aspiration of 1868 finally realized by the appointment for the first time of an experienced educational administrator of high standing in scholarship to the presidency of the Board of Education.² The appointment of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher was hailed by scholars and statesmen alike. For his education the new Cabinet minister had studied at Winchester, at New College, Oxford, and in Paris and Göttingen. Moreover, to his credit as an undergraduate honors student he had a First Class in Classical Moderations and a First Class in Literæ Humaniores. He had become Fellow and Tutor of his college. He had been an inspiring teacher. His published works in mediæval and modern history had won for him an early election as Fellow of the British Academy. Humanist and historian of Oxford, he had been made Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, one of the newer universities of pure and applied science. He had been signally successful as an administrator. His abilities had received still further recognition through opportunities for service on several royal commissions. Accordingly, his advent to the new office of Minister of Education was acclaimed not only in England and Wales, but also from the outposts of the British Empire. And, despite the mutterings of "Musings without Method" and the like-minded, his

¹ The office of vice-president of the Committee of Privy Council on Education was created in 1856 by the first statute on public elementary education in England, but the Lord President of the Council was still theoretically president of the committee, and thus there was confusion between authority and responsibility.

² By the Board of Education Parliamentary Act of 1899 the office of vice-president of the council was abolished, and the Department of Science and Art was united with the Education Department in one central office under the title of the Board of Education, with a president and parliamentary secretary. Mr. Fisher's predecessors in the office of president were selected, it has been said, on the theory of English government that any man of ability is capable of taking any office without training or preparation, that the all-round man if given opportunity will fit himself to the squarest of holes, or as Sydney Smith put it, Lord John Russell was ready to take command of the Channel fleet at a moment's notice.

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notable achievements in actual during-the-war reconstruction for England after the war have been equally acclaimed both within and without the United Kingdom.

In one of his speeches delivered on a tour designed to arouse his country to the importance of education, Mr. Fisher places his view of public education on a high plane of purpose and understanding in the following unmistakable terms: "The province of popular education is to equip the men and women of this country for the tasks of citizenship. All are called upon to live, many are called upon to die, for the community of which they form a part. That they should be rescued from the dumb helplessness of ignorance is, if not a precept of the eternal conscience, at least an elementary part of political prudence, to which the prospective enfranchisement of several million new voters, male and female, adds a new emphasis. But the argument does not rest upon grounds of political prudence only; but upon the right of human beings to be considered as ends in themselves and be entitled, so far as our imperfect social arrangements may permit, to know and to enjoy all the best that life can offer in the sphere of knowledge, emotion, and hope."

Similar views were being reflected from more than one quarter of Great Britain. For example, the same principles which sustain Mr. Fisher's view are emphasized in an unsigned article on "The Education of the Citizen" in the *Round Table* for June, 1917. "The education which has come in the wake of modern industrialism, if valued in terms of individual character and social well-being and security," says this illuminating anonymous writer, "is a disastrous failure. It is narrow in range and wrong in kind. It is not ruled by 'the handsome passions' and the wisdom which it seeks is not high. It does not secure happiness nor promote virtue. Too often it distorts as well as starves the souls of men. 'The fundamental truth in modern life, as I analyze it,' says President Wilson, 'is a profound ignorance. I am not one of those who challenge the promoters of special interests on the ground that they are malevolent, that they are bad men; I challenge their leadership on the ground that they are ignorant men, that when you have absorbed yourself in a business through half your life, you have no other point of view than the point of view of that business, and that, therefore, you are disqualified by ignorance from giving counsel as to common interests. . . . If you immerse a man in a given undertaking, no matter how big that undertaking is, and keep him immersed for half a lifetime, you can't expect him to see any horizon; you can't get him to see life steadily or see it whole.'"

"There is no solution of these difficulties," continues the philosopher in the *Round Table* article, "except by a change of national temper, and

there is no way of bringing that change about except by rescuing it from the clutches of industrialism. We must have a purpose. We must revert to the principal and main purpose which, in the British homes and in the schools, has fashioned young lives whose mettle has been tried hard by their country in this time of need, and has not been found wanting. And we must make it clear, hold it consciously, and carry it out resolutely.

"The essence of that purpose is that in all stages of education, from the lowest to the highest, the individual himself shall be the *sole end of the process*, and that ulterior considerations should have no more place in our schemes than they have in the mind of the mother when she suckles the infant at her breast. There is only one kind of school which gains a sensible man's entire trust—it is that in which the lessons, the games, the societies, the whole training, whether vocational or other, is meant to terminate and reach its final goal in the boys and girls themselves. The child is taught for his own sake, not in order that he may 'promote the efficiency of the State'—that is the German conception; nor for the sake of industrial efficiency—that is the conception of men tempted to regard the children of the workers as industrial pabulum."

In England, as in other countries, the fight for the child has been a fight with the family and the factory. It has been a fight for the custody of the child. It has been a fight for citizenship for the child. It has been a fierce fight for freedom, waged against forces¹ loosed by the Industrial Revolution. The Factory Acts² in England have been the forerunners

¹ In no language is there a more sensational literature than that provided by the blue books on the children of England, bearing reports of commissions, notably that of 1817 on chimney sweeps, those of 1842-43 on child labor in mines and manufactures, and that of 1867 on the abuse of children in agricultural gangs. These commissions found that little children in immense numbers had been actually drafted into mine and factory and field. In the mines, the age at which employment commenced was usually eight or nine, and frequently six and seven, the children working as a rule for twelve hours a day, with night work for the infants as a part of the ordinary routine. Underground, girls and boys, young men and young women, and married women, worked mingled together, commonly almost naked and in the grossest degradation. Similarly, in many of the manufactures, for example, in calico-printing, children of five or six ordinarily kept at work for fourteen hours; in the lace business children beginning work at five or six, and called up to work at all hours of the night; and in the millinery business of the metropolis conditions even more astounding. See George Peel, "The Future of England." London, Macmillan, 1911.

² Beginning with the First Factory Act, Sir Robert Peel's, in 1802, over one hundred public statutes have been passed in England dealing mercifully with children. These statutes have established, among many other things, the child's legal rights to conditions most essential to its life, and have made ill-treatment and neglect legal offences. The child may now receive the necessities of life not merely by act of parental grace but by virtue of lawful claim; nor in the privileges of its citizenship may it ever again be regarded as property owned by the parent.

of progress in popular education. The fight for the individual has been a fight with industrialism. The other great difficulty has been not economic but religious; and so real, that the problem of public education in England has been virtually a religious problem, bill upon bill failing of passing, and act after act failing of its purpose, because of conflicts between the teachings of the Established Church and those of Nonconformity concerning the salvation of children's souls. These and similar conflicts between state and voluntary efforts for promoting popular education may have checked progress in public education, but in the long run they have contributed, and perhaps as advantageously as any other course, to the constitution of a national system sufficiently comprehensive to encourage education through private and philanthropic channels quite as much as by grants from the public chest.

It may now be inquired what machinery of public education is available, to be scrapped or improved by the new minister of education for promoting his conception of the mission of education on the part of the state, promoting not primarily the welfare of institutions, nor primarily the welfare of industry, but primarily the welfare of "the individual himself as the sole end of the process," passing on to him as potential man, worker and citizen, a maximum measure of our common inheritance of "knowledge, emotion and hope." State education in England began much later and has progressed more slowly than in the United States.¹ As observed by Sir Joshua Fitch in the tenth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "the public provision for the education of the people in England is not the product of any theory or plan formulated beforehand by statesmen or philosophers; it has come into existence through a long course of experiments, compromises, traditions, successes, failures and religious controversies. What has been done in this department of public policy is the resultant of many diverse forces and of slow evolution and growth rather than of pure purpose and well-defined national aims. It has been effected in different degrees by philanthropy, by private enter-

¹ As a matter of fact, the history of state education in England begins only in 1833, with a grant from the treasury of about £20,000 in aid of elementary schools. Up to 1832 the state recognized no national responsibility and incurred no expense for the elementary education of the people of England; nor did it impose upon parents any legal obligation to provide for the education of their children. (See the Harvard lectures of A. V. Dicey on "Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century," second edition. London, Macmillan, 1914.) On the other hand, in Massachusetts, when but a colony of twenty thousand people, living in thirty towns, there were passed as early as 1642 and 1647 legislative acts not only founding the Massachusetts school system, but also furnishing the type of future school legislation throughout the United States, and foreshadowing in principle the whole American system of education, including elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges.

prise, by religious zeal, by ancient universities and endowed foundations, by municipal and local effort, and only to a small extent by legislation. The genius—or rather characteristic habit—of the English people is averse from the philosophical system, and is disposed to regard education, not as a science, but as a body of expedients to be discovered empirically and amended from time to time as occasion may require.” And similarly, Mr. (now Sir Graham) Balfour, describing the generating currents of the four systems of national education that are virtually existing side by side in the United Kingdom, says: “We can see England, businesslike and unphilosophical, somewhat lethargic in her prosperity, slowly realizing first the commercial advantages of education and then the possibility of applying scientific methods to the process: great in self-government, yet delegating to the localities only those powers which she intends them to use; making a working compromise at every step, and triumphantly disregarding consistency in details: strong in her sense of duty, greatly proud of her ancient institutions, liberal in grants once her hand is opened. There are Wales and Scotland to whom education is far more dear: Wales, in a newly born fervor for knowledge, producing, as it were by magic, order out of chaos; Scotland, thrifty, prosperous and wise; with an ecclesiastical history ‘the most perverse and melancholy in man’s annals,’ yet without a religious difficulty in her schools;¹ having taught her children for centuries past to mind their book and get on in the world, and to be independent and upright—a lesson well learned at home and practised with great success abroad. Last comes Ireland, poor and in subjection; passionately attached to her faith; lovable and unreliable and helpless; a child among nations: the Celtic genius mysterious and unpractical, ‘always bound nowhere under full sail,’ abandoned for long to obsolete methods and inadequate instruction, because reform meant the calling up of many quarrels.”² “Of these four,” writes Sir Michael E. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, “the Scottish system is the most homogeneous, the Irish the most divided, the Welsh the most enthusiastic, the English the most complicated and various.” And the same well-known authority has written as follows of the ideals of the last-

¹ Moreover, John Knox’s advocacy of an elementary school for every parish, a grammar school for every market town and a university for every city, had secured for even the poorest scholar of ability in Scotland free access to the highest educational facilities possessed by the country.

² Graham Balfour, “The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland.” Oxford, University Press, 1903.

In the face of the above quoted characterizations from Mr. Graham Balfour it perhaps should be remarked that in the period at the opening of the nineteenth century when England was at its lowest ebb in matters of education, the Irish were advancing and showed, as Sir Robert Peel declared, “the greatest eagerness and desire . . . for the benefits of instruction.”

named system: "England stands half-way, as it were, between the American and the German ideals. She seeks to combine freedom and authority; experiment and tradition; modern studies and classical; interest and discipline; supervision from above and a large measure of local variety and self-government. She finds much to admire both in German education and in American. In the former, its extraordinary precision of aim, its high intellectual standards, its wide diffusion and convenience of access. In the latter, its verve, its belief in its own future, its intense vitality, its incessant experimenting, its courage and its readiness to take stock of itself and to adjust itself to new needs. They, on the other hand, find much to admire in our best educational tradition—in its fairness of mind; in its personal devotion to the welfare of the boys or girls committed to its charge; in its strong ethical tradition; in its conviction that, unless ballasted by a strong moral character, intellectual brilliancy is a mischievous thing; and, not least, in its belief that the highest kind of scholarship is that which translates into wise action and unselfishly embodies itself in the corporate life of some institution."¹

The English system can be best understood through a historical study of its development.² Such historical studies are only slowly becoming available, and then at the hands of students of the history of education, for in the minds of most political historians education seems to be practically a negligible element. Green, in his "History of the English People," hardly touches the subject of education. And the same remark is applicable to almost every history of every epoch of England's life.³ Now

¹ Michael E. Sadler, "American Ideals in Education," Special Reports, Vol. II.

² For the history of public education in England see "The Government of England," by A. Lawrence Lowell, ninth edition, New York, Macmillan, 1912; the *Cyclopædia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe; the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in particular the contribution of G. B. M. Coore to the article on "National Systems of Public Education"; and the file of the *Educational Review*, edited by Nicholas Murray Butler. For the current history of educational problems, the *London Times Educational Supplement*, now issued weekly, is invaluable; and the reviews of foreign educational progress in the Annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education are also familiar sources of information. In particular, for the denominational and undenominational arguments on the English education question see "Current Political Problems," by Sir J. D. Rees, London, Arnold, 1912; and for the conservative political argument see "The Province of the State," by Sir Roland K. Wilson, London, King, 1911, where such current phrases as "the level at which democracy will be safe," "save the democracy," and "the safe working of democracy" appear.

³ For example, Louis Cazamian in his "Modern England: An historical and sociological study," pp. xi + 292, New York, Dutton, 1912, devotes to education a single paragraph of fewer than two hundred words. This paragraph is, to be sure, an admirable summary as far as it goes, and in the admirable setting to be expected from the pen of a distinguished French professor of English literature. On the other hand, Gilbert Slater, a former

the history of that long course of controversies and compromises, so characterized in the above quotation from Sir Joshua Fitch, falls conveniently into several periods. The first definite legislative success came in 1832-33, as has already been noted, in the wake of the great Reform Bill of 1832. The crest of the course appeared in the critical year of 1870, which witnessed in France the foundation of the Third Republic, in Germany the rise of the Empire, farther south the completion of Italian Unity, and in England the first education act establishing school boards and board schools under their supervision. And it has been through the gradual extension of general and compulsory provisions during the interval, including Forster's bill of 1870 and Balfour's bill of 1902, that there has been evolved the national system which Mr. Fisher's bill of 1918 would enlarge into a "University of England," so designated in public speech by the author of the bill, offering all the children of England opportunity for continuous education from the cradle through college. This evolution of a complete system adapted to the needs of the masses of the people in opposition to any class monopoly in education, has been accompanied by a modification of the original purposes of popular education in England, for in those original purposes there seems to have been more of charity to the poor than of cultivation for the people, more of aim towards the prevention of crime than of aid towards the promotion of knowledge among the people. It has been a long but no mean story, from the canons of 1604 which secured the control of education to the Established Church, on down to the relations established in 1918 between local and central government control.¹

The first elementary schools were preparatory departments of the

principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, in his "Making of Modern England," pp. xii + 308 + xli, revised edition, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1915, writing from social and industrial rather than political standpoints, gives to public elementary education one of twenty-three chapters. The contents of this concise but somewhat colored record do not extend beyond the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903.

¹ The question of central or local authority has been one of the main issues in the parliamentary debates on Mr. Fisher's bill. It is also a sharp question in the present-day discussion of American educational problems. In a Yale lecture on the responsibilities of citizenship Simeon E. Baldwin expressed in 1912 the conservative view in the following terms:

"And now let us ask where rests the responsibility for marking out the lines of American education. Is it a divided or a centralized responsibility? Have we one or many authorities to which to look?

"The shaping of education is in the hands of the States, and there it must remain. The Bureau of Education at Washington may make and often does make helpful suggestions, but it can exercise no control, nor can any other officer or agency of the United States. The German principle of trusting the several States of the empire, not that adopted by Japan, of leaving all to the imperial government, is in harmony with American institutions. We believe that systems of education must be under home rule, and conform to

grammar schools. Of these grammar schools, mediæval in type, Winchester, founded in 1393, is the oldest. Stratford-on-Avon, refounded in 1553; St. Paul's, founded in 1509; and Grantham, refounded in 1553, are representative old grammar schools and typify the close connection of these schools with the best national life of England. as the schools to which William Shakespeare, John Milton, and Sir Isaac Newton went as schoolboys.¹ On the other hand, the first germ of state interference appeared in laws which required "children between five and thirteen years of age who were found begging or idle to be bound apprentices to some handicraft,"—the so-called apprenticeship laws of Henry VIII. And if plans promulgated in the illustrious reign of his daughter, characterized by a modern historian² as the golden age of English education, had persisted to the present day, the Great War, in the opinion of the same writer, would have found England in possession of a rigid state system with efficiency minus freedom; in any event, the collapse that followed the elaborate programme of the Elizabethans is comparable to that other retardation which came later in the wake of the reaction from the French Revolution. Under the patronage of Queen Mary, efforts were made at the end of the seventeenth century to enlarge the facilities for elementary education by the provision of charity schools, and the movement was organized by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge founded in 1699 by Thomas Bray. These schools usually provided the pupils with meals and clothing, teaching the boys reading, writing and a little arith-

local needs and capabilities. They cannot be identical in Massachusetts and Montana; in Charleston and Chicago.

"The demands for educational freedom are absolutely opposed to Federal direction of school affairs, and endangered by all grants of aid from the Federal treasury. The agricultural colleges of the country are now, to some extent, sources of peril to the autonomy of the States, in respect of their internal concerns. They familiarize the minds of the students with the idea of Federal dependence, and introduce an extraneous authority to determine policies of instruction and research.

"The education of Americans must be American in type. It must impress upon all who receive it our combination of local home rule in most things with supreme control at Washington over a few things. Each is equally necessary for the perpetuity of our institutions."—Simeon E. Baldwin, "The Relations of Education to Citizenship," New Haven, Yale University Press, 1912.

¹ See Foster Watson, "The Old Grammar Schools," New York, Putnam, 1916.

Under the Grammar Schools Act of 1840 a number of these English endowments were reorganized as higher elementary schools.

² Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency, a frequent contributor on educational topics to the English monthly and quarterly reviews, and the author of "State Intervention in English Education: a short history from the earliest times down to 1833," Cambridge, University Press, 1902, and "The Progress of Education in England: a sketch of the development of English educational organization from early times to the year 1904," London, Knight, 1904.

metic, and the girls, in separate establishments, reading, writing and sewing; however, only a small proportion of the child population could be reached in this way, but towards the end of the eighteenth century a larger need began to be met by the Sunday Schools of the movement associated with the name of Robert Raikes. The opening of the nineteenth century found religious peace in England shattered, and the religious controversy in education precipitated by ideas for a national system of popular education upon a voluntary basis, ideas at which two strong men, Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster, had arrived independently. To supply the need of teachers, immediately demanded for the successful operation of such a system, each of these gentlemen proposed the monitorial method, which each of them claimed to have originated.¹ And to develop the voluntary school system under the monitorial plan there was formed in 1808 the non-sectarian British and Foreign School Society,² originally the Royal Lancasterian Society, and in 1809 the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales, with Bell as its superintendent. Such recourse to voluntary effort was made inevitable by the defeat of Samuel Whitbread's Poor Law Reform Bill of 1807, which included a great education scheme. This eminent Whig statesman had already in mind one hundred and ten years ago most of the present social problems of England: he desired to create state savings banks for the poor, to build cottages for the industrial classes out of the rates, to restrict outdoor relief to the sick, to the aged, and to the children. He proposed to make a new England. The time, he declared with eloquence, had come for a national system of education for the children of the poor, "because within a few years there has been discovered a plan," referring to the above-mentioned monitorial system, "for the instruction of youth which is now brought to a state of great perfection,

¹ In explanation of the system Dr. Bell insisted "that in order to establish a good school of nine hundred or one thousand children it would be sufficient to obtain some disused workshop or other building capable of accommodating the children, and the services of a man of good natural common sense, who would receive a month's training in the art and science of education. As soon as the master had been trained the school would be opened. From among the children in attendance some thirty of the most intelligent would be selected and would be admitted half an hour before the other children. In that half hour the master would teach them the lesson for the day, and then each of these thirty little monitors would be given a class of thirty other children, and would recite what he had just learned to his class, while the master surveyed the scene and maintained order."

It has been remarked that the monitorial system as thus advocated by Bell, and methods adopted more recently by Montessori, are essentially European importations of ideas formed in India.

² See the "Centenary History of the British and Foreign School Society, A Century of Education, 1808-1908," by H. B. Binns, London, Dent, 1908.

happily combining rules by which the object of learning must be infallibly attained with expedition and cheapness, and holding out the fairest prospect of eminent utility to mankind." Whitbread a little later divided his great scheme of social regeneration into four bills, one of which contained his plan for the education of the poor. Despite public approval, intense sympathy on the part of the House of Commons, and the removal of compulsory features, Whitbread's plan failed of passage, mainly because the conservative classes, frightened by the French Revolution and fearing its reenactment in England, viewed with alarm "any proposals to establish a system of universal education as likely to diffuse revolutionary ideas and to promote seditious propaganda." As a matter of fact, the bill was damned on second reading by Davies Giddy¹ (afterwards Gilbert), a scientist of distinction, who considered that the plan proposed would be "prejudicial to the morals and happiness of the people." It was not until 1820 that further effort towards legislation was made, but Brougham's bill of that year, when under full sail towards successful passage in the House of Commons, was mysteriously abandoned, presumably after unseen attack by the vested interests involved. The object was not to be attained for fifty years, but through forty-five of those years Brougham kept up the campaign for the education of the people, through pamphlets of many editions, and parliamentary speeches that have been characterized as "models of oratory, idealism and statistical compilation."

Of actual government steps towards state-aided public education, the first came in 1832, when the Whig government, on passing the Reform Bill, placed in the Estimates a grant of twenty thousand pounds, to be administered not by a special department but by the Treasury under conditions laid down by a minute of August 30th, 1833, and to be used solely for the erection of schools, with the proviso that no grant was to be made until at least one half of the cost of building had been met by voluntary contributions actually received, and then only on applications recommended by the National Society or the British and Foreign School

¹ Davies Giddy was later president of the Royal Society, a strong supporter of such men as Humphry Davy in their work of discovery, and promoter in Parliament of the claims of science and art. In his House of Commons speech against the Whitbread bill Giddy argued that "however specious in theory might be the project of giving education to the laboring classes of the poor, it would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the result would be that the Legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power against them and to furnish the executive magistrate with much more vigorous laws than were now in force."

Society. There was provision for audit, but none for inspection. About this time, and three quarters of a century in advance of Mr. Fisher, to no avail Roebuck "demanded, in a really great speech, infant schools, evening schools, schools of industry, training schools, all provided in school districts controlled by education committees." No increase in grants was made until 1839, when Lord Melbourne's¹ government raised the annual vote to thirty thousand pounds, and created on the initiative of Lord John Russell an education office to do business under the style of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, though it was only by a majority of five in a House of five hundred and fifty-five members, against an opposition in which Gladstone, Disraeli and Peel united, that the appointment of this Committee of the Privy Council was sanctioned by the House of Commons, and the departure made that laid the basis of the present English system.² Among the first acts of the committee were those placing all buildings upon trusts permanently securing them to the education of poor children, requiring all buildings to conform to fixed standards of structural efficiency, and calling for the right of inspection in all cases. The methods of inspection were modified in 1846, and, following the adverse report of 1845 on the monitorial system, for the latter a system of pupil teachers was substituted, and the grants increased. From thirty thousand pounds in 1839, the annual grant had risen to nearly four hundred thousand in 1855, and by 1860 it was almost eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nor should such rise be surprising since, from 1843 on, grants had been made to training colleges, and from 1846 on, capitation grants in support of the pupil teacher training system, including provisions for retiring pensions to elementary teach-

¹ In a review of Ian Hay's "The Lighter Side of School Life," the Right Hon. George W. E. Russell, recalling the conservative opinions of these earlier days in the history of public education in England, quotes Lord Melbourne's complaint, "It is tiresome to hear education discussed, tiresome to educate, and tiresome to be educated," and further from Queen Victoria's Journal, "Lord M. made us laugh very much with his opinions about Schools and Public Education; the latter he don't like, and when I asked him if he did, he said, 'I daren't say in these times I'm against it, but I *am* against it.' He says it may do pretty well in Germany, but that the English would not submit to that thralldom; he thinks it had much better be left to Voluntary Education, and that people of very great genius were educated by circumstances, and that the 'education of circumstances' was the best; what *is* taught in schools might be improved, he thinks."

² This year, 1839, of significant events in English education, was also the year of the agreement signed by Great Britain, Belgium, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, guaranteeing the perpetual neutrality of Belgium, and the integrity and inviolability of her territory. Of the twenty-four articles of that agreement the seventh reads: "La Belgique, dans les limites indiquées aux Articles i, ii, et iv, formera un État indépendant et perpétuellement neutre. Elle sera ternue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres États."

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ers, while in 1847 state aid was extended to Wesleyan and Roman Catholic schools, and in 1851 Jewish schools received recognition on condition that the Scriptures of the Old Testament should be daily read in them.

Though these years were witnessing rapid increase in the size and range of the annual grants, all attempts to secure by statute a national system of education had failed. After the abandoning of Lord Brougham's bill in 1820 no such further efforts were made for nearly a quarter of a century. It was with the educational clauses of Sir Robert Peel's Factory Bill of 1842 that attempts were renewed. They were continued unsuccessfully throughout the decade of 1847-57 by the introduction almost annually of three sets of bills, one set introduced on behalf of the government by Lord John Russell a second promoted in the interests of the secular schools by the Lancashire and National Public Schools Associations, and a third advanced in aid of the voluntary schools by the Manchester and Salford Committee on Education. All these bills were swept away. Gladstone, Disraeli and Salisbury joined in the sweeping. There were strong undercurrents to assist them. There were strong undercurrents they could not resist. There were the interests of the manufacturers. Moreover, there were equally strong religious currents. They were moving, they thought, to prevent infidelity on the one hand and to preserve on the other the principle of voluntary exertion. They thought they were moving in the direction of civil and religious freedom. And the future does look back with just such astonishment as Macaulay predicted when in 1837 he appealed with confidence "to a future age which, while enjoying all the blessings of a just and efficient system of State education, will look back with astonishment to the opposition which the introduction of that system encountered and which will be still more astonished that such resistance was offered in the name of civil and religious freedom."

The year 1851 witnessed an international event of first-rate importance in the first International Exhibition held in Hyde Park. Under the influence of the Prince Consort—"who, when all is known," says Fabian Ware,¹ "will probably be found to have seen deeper into our educational needs than anyone else of his time"—the profits from this exhibition, amounting to £186,436, together with a parliamentary grant of £150,000, were devoted to the purchase of land in South Kensington, to be used, among other purposes, for the furthering of a scheme of "instruction for those engaged in the prosecution of arts and manufactures." To this end the Science and Art Department, created to control and organize in-

¹ Fabian Ware, "Educational Foundations of Trade and Industry," London and New York, Harper, 1901.

dustrial education, was formally established in 1853, and transferred in 1856 from the Board of Trade to the Committee of Council on Education. In the latter year a purely administrative bill was passed, instituting the office of vice-president of the committee, to which earlier reference has already been made in these notes. Moreover, during the 'fifties, still other distinct gains were made, for the lines on which Lord John Russell's unsuccessful bill of 1854 was framed were those subsequently adopted in 1870, and his bill of 1853 to permit the municipal boroughs to levy rates in aid of education, though failing of passage, created incidentally capitation grants—made available a little later for urban areas as well as rural—thereby extending to the maintenance of schools the principle of state assistance which had first been applied to the building of schools and then to the training of teachers. Furthermore, by Denison's Act, passed in 1855, the guardians of the poor were enabled to make grants for educational purposes to persons already in receipt of outdoor relief. But, as has already been remarked, progress of state-aided education during this decade is perhaps best measured by the increase from year to year in the annual parliamentary grant. A strong commission of inquiry into the disposition of these grants was appointed in 1858 on the motion of Sir John Pakington, an eminent conservative educationist, who was responsible for most of the denominational educational bills of this decade. "The one definite achievement of this commission¹ was the famous system of payment by results, which may be said to have excited a keener and more prolonged controversy than any other measure of a purely educational character." The plan received the designation "payment by results" because "except in the case of infants, where a capitation grant was to be made on attendance alone, a grant was to be awarded only for each child who passed before the inspector an examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic." In the Revised Code of 1862—the minutes of the Committee of Council on Education had been codified for the first time in 1860, and issued yearly thereafter—provision was made for the payment of grants upon the old principle and further grants upon the results of examination. Mr. Robert Lowe, vice-president of the Committee of Council from 1859–64, declared in the House of Commons of the system of payment by results that "if it was costly it should at least be efficient; and if it was inefficient it should at least be cheap." In fact, it proved to be cheap, the grant falling off £175,000 from 1861–65. Modifications introduced in 1867

¹ Under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle, this commission was known as the Newcastle Commission. See Report on the State of Popular Education in England and the Measures required for the Extension of sound and cheap Elementary Instruction to all Classes of the People. *Com. Papers*, 1861, XXI, Part I.

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failed to meet all objections, but the system was not finally abolished until 1904.

By the passage in 1867 of the second Reform Act, enfranchising all men householders in boroughs, the education problem was rendered all the more acute by the necessity of protecting a growing democracy from the perils of illiteracy. In this year and again in 1868, the Liberal statesmen, Bruce, Forster, and Egerton, introduced a bill which formed the basis of the measure of 1870. Shortly before 1870 two associations were organized to focus opinion in the country, one the Birmingham Education League, advocating free compulsory secular schools maintained by local authorities through local rates, and the other called the Manchester Education Union, formed to urge a universal plan based upon the existing system of voluntary schools. The Elementary Education Bill of 1870, introduced by Forster, "under the most powerful Liberal ministry of recent times," as initially a compromise between these two plans, was, during its passage through Parliament, still further modified to meet the rival claims.¹ The act required that there should be a public elementary school under state inspection available in every district, these several districts consisting of the several corporate boroughs of the country, individually, the separate parishes, individually, and what is now the County of London. If in any school district sufficient voluntary schools did not exist and were not formed, a school board had to be organized and required to build and maintain schools out of the rates. As to religious

¹ On the persisting bitterness engendered by the religious question in the Education Act of 1870, an interesting sidelight is thrown by Sir Edward Thorpe in his recent memoir of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe (London, Longmans, 1916). Commenting on the cordial reception accorded the author of the bill at the Inaugural Ceremony of the Yorkshire College of Science, October 6th, 1875, Sir Edward Thorpe says in effect that when in 1875 Mr. Gladstone suddenly threw up his position as leader of the Liberal party then in opposition, and public opinion designated Mr. Forster as one of the two or three politicians of eminence who might fitly be regarded as his successor, the unforfeiting sectarian rancor, induced in some of Mr. Forster's political allies in the Education League by his action—or what they supposed to be his sole action—respecting the religious question, rewarded him "for the wise and statesmanlike measure of 1870—one of the finest achievements to the credit of the Liberal party," by rudely checking his natural ambitions as a statesman, through virtually compelling him to withdraw from the contest rather than divide the Liberal party, following a resolution hostile to his claims passed by the League party in his own constituency. "Extremists on both sides abused Forster," says Mr. Hugh Chisholm, editor of the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "but the government had a difficult set of circumstances to deal with, and he acted like a prudent statesman in contenting himself with what he could get. An ideal bill was impracticable; it is to Forster's enduring credit that the bill of 1870, imperfect as it was, established at last some approach to a system of national education in England without running absolutely counter to the most cherished English ideas and without ignoring the principal agencies already in existence."

instruction, the bill required that such instruction must be given either at the beginning or at the end of the school period, thus allowing parents to withdraw their children if they chose, and further that "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." This last stipulation is known as the Cowper-Temple clause,¹ proposed by Mr. Cowper-Temple, and incorporated in the act during the debates. The school boards were to be elected directly by the voters, and, for the protection of the religious minorities, it was further stipulated that the election was to be by cumulative vote, that is to say, each elector could cast for a single candidate, or, distributed as he pleased, as many votes as there were places to be filled. The bill neither made education free nor compulsory, though it did to a limited extent enforce upon parents the obligation of providing their children with elementary knowledge and compelled the parents to share in the expense through the payment of school fees. In the Elementary Education Act of 1876 this duty on the parents received distinct legal recognition in the statute: "It shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and if such parent fail to perform such duty, he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by the Act." In 1880 the compulsory attendance of children at school was for the first time made universal, but it was not until 1891 that elementary education became free.

The arrangement by which elementary education became free was the first important piece of legislation following the reports of Lord Cross's Commission appointed in 1887 to inquire into the working of the education acts.² The campaign for free education, which had been brought within the range of practical politics by the adoption of universal compulsion under the Elementary Education Act of 1880, came logically also in the wake of the third Reform Act, 1885, enfranchising agricultural laborers, and was inaugurated by a small political group of pronounced collectivist tendencies. Mr. Dicey has remarked, in his Harvard lectures to which reference has already been made, that the gradual development of the conviction that the nation must provide for the education

¹ "That the religious teaching in the board schools under the Cowper-Temple clause, although entirely undenominational, is, as a rule, neither godless, radical, nor lacking in instruction in the Scriptures, any one may convince himself," says Mr. Lowell, "by looking at the return of the school programmes on the subject submitted by the Education Department to the House of Lords on June 13, 1906."

² See the report, issued in 1888, entitled Lord Cross's Commission on the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales, 1886. The labors of this commission produced elaborate reports, majority and minority, on the political, administrative, scholastic, and religious aspects of the education problem.

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of the people, and make such provision at the expense of the nation, may be, and certainly has been in England, connected with the development of collectivism; but he also insists that "the mere fact that a country maintains a national system of education does not of itself necessarily prove the prevalence of socialistic ideas, as witness the history of popular education in Scotland and in New England." In this connection it may perhaps be stated that during the corresponding period of educational development in France, primary education was in 1881 made free in that country; in 1882, compulsory; in 1886, the state schools were secularized; and more recently, under the religious associations law almost all the voluntary primary schools were abolished. According to Friedrich Paulsen, the principle of compulsory school attendance was proclaimed for the first time in the School Regulations issued for Weimar in 1619. Moreover, compulsory education as a righteous demand on the part of the state was affirmed in the Massachusetts Acts of 1642 and 1647.¹

State intervention in secondary education in England limped tardily on the heels of the first state aid to elementary education, for the first step in the way of such intervention was taken only in 1861 by the appointment of Lord Clarendon's commission of inquiry into the condition of the nine endowed schools. Following the report of this commission in 1864 the Public Schools Act of the same year introduced certain reforms in the administration of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury, but left the two great London day schools, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors, outside its operation. Further and much wider investigation on all the schools which had not been studied either by the Newcastle or the Clarendon Commission was instituted by Lord Taunton's Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864-68,² but

¹ The half dozen underlying principles of the Massachusetts Acts of 1842 and 1847 have been summarized by Martin in his "Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System" as follows: "The universal education of youth is essential to the well-being of the state. The obligation to furnish this education rests primarily upon the parent. The state has the right to enforce this obligation. The state may fix a standard which shall determine the kind of education and the minimum amount. Public money raised by general tax may be used to provide such education as the state requires, and the tax may be general though the school attendance is not. Education higher than the rudiments may be supplied by the state, and opportunity must be provided at the public expense for youths who wish to be fitted for college."

² Reading the history of public education in England through its tortuous course of royal commission preceding parliamentary act on education, child welfare, or industrial legislation, followed by royal commission, and so on indefinitely, one is struck by the eminence of the men who have served the state on these commissions of inquiry. For example, among those who participated in the deliberations of Lord Taunton's Commission were Lord Lytton, Dr. Frederick Temple (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), Lord Stanley, Mr. William E. Forster, Dean William F. Hook, and Sir Stafford

the time was not ripe for translating into legislative action the recommendations of this commission for the general administrative organization of a system of secondary education, through the establishment of a central authority, local or provincial authorities, and a central council on education charged with examination duties, though results of far-reaching importance, based on the Taunton Reports, were embodied in the Endowed Schools Acts of 1869-74, reorganizing ancient endowments and reinterpreting all ancient trusts as free from denominational restrictions, exception being made of course in any case where conditions to the contrary had been imposed by or under the authority of the founder.

Thirty years after the first report of the Schools Inquiry Commission and twenty years after the last of the Endowed Schools Acts, the whole region of secondary education as distinct from elementary education was thoroughly canvassed by a royal commission appointed in 1894 under the presidency of Mr. James Bryce. The Bryce Commission was instructed "to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organized system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies, and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment, or otherwise, as are available, or may be made available for this purpose, and to make recommendations accordingly." In their printed report, begun in 1895 and extending through ten volumes, the commissioners state that they have interpreted these instructions as confining their inquiries to the organization of secondary education, without including either an examination and description of the instruction actually given in secondary schools, or a consideration of what subjects such instruction ought to cover and by what methods it should be given. Before the Bryce survey was made, the development of secondary education had been further stimulated by the Technical Instruction Acts¹ of 1889 and 1891. These acts and the early grants of the Science and Art De-

Northcote, while among the assistant commissioners were Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. James (now Viscount) Bryce, Mr. (afterwards Sir Joshua) Fitch, and Dr. James Fraser.

¹ The *Record* of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education, published first monthly and later on quarterly through the twenty years, 1887-1907, of the association's existence, furnishes a very complete history of the development of technical and secondary education during this period. See also the report of 1884 of a royal commission "to inquire into the instruction of the industrial classes of certain foreign countries in technical and other subjects, for the purpose of comparison with that of the corresponding classes in this country; and into the influence of such instruction on manufacturing and other industries at home and abroad." The president of this commission was the Right Hon. Sir Bernhard Samuelson, and among its members were the Right Hon. Sir Henry Roscoe and Sir Philip Magnus.

partment were forces tending toward the promotion of a national system of secondary education in which the mathematical and physical sciences and the modern languages should predominate, not to the exclusion of the older literary studies but with the inclusion of technical and scientific instruction as necessary and integral parts. Similar stimulating formative influences were at work through the new university colleges¹ that were springing up in the manufacturing centres of the country; through the growing interest in wider provision for the liberal education of women; through the more general recognition of the need for the professional training of teachers; and through the increasing demands on the school boards to extend their courses beyond the limits of elementary teaching,² calling also for a thoroughgoing organization of public education in respect of its elementary, secondary, and technological branches. On passing all these phenomena in review, the members of the Bryce Commission found that "the problem which the facts suggested was more easily stated

¹ It was with the rise of these provincial universities and university colleges, intended to educate the masses of the people, that for the first time appropriations from the public chest came to the aid of university education in England. Such state aid from the National Government dates from 1889-90, and takes the form of annual grants administered by the Treasury, awarded for the promotion of teaching and research of university standard, and only to such institutions as satisfy severe qualifying tests. Moreover, under the provision in the Act of 1902 for assistance to any education not elementary, these same institutions receive grants from the local authorities of the areas in which they are situated and from neighboring counties and boroughs whose people profit by their instruction. While each of these forms of university grants varies widely in amount, the national grants have been as much as thirty per cent. and the local grants fifteen per cent. of the institutions' total income.

The university college grants include liberal items for the training of teachers. Moreover, the residential college normal schools of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society have been since 1843 subsidized by training college grants. In this connection it may be mentioned that Cambridge instituted in 1879 examinations for a teacher's diploma. More recently, with the municipalization of education, local education authorities have aided the establishment of teacher training colleges by grants raised in 1906 from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent. of the capital expenditure.

² By the Education Act of 1870 establishing school boards for the first time, these boards were authorized to maintain only elementary schools. Accordingly in allowing grants for classes beyond the elementary range, their legal authority had been exceeded. The illegality of their procedure in these respects was established in 1901 by the famous judgment by the Court of Appeal in the test case of *Rex versus Cockerton*, following the refusal of Mr. Cockerton, an auditor of the Local Government Board, to allow certain payments which had been made in London for higher grade elementary instruction. Thereupon, however, the government immediately passed a brief measure sanctioning the continuance of the work of the higher grade elementary schools and of the evening continuation classes on the old basis for a year, and made this sanction permanent in the Education Act of 1902.

than solved; it was, in a few words, how to provide a single central authority which should supervise the interests of secondary education in England as a whole; to provide local authorities representative in the most complete sense, which should in their respective areas regard those interests with a similarly comprehensive view; and, reserving a large freedom for such local authorities, to reconcile the ultimate unity of central control with a system sufficiently elastic to meet the almost infinite variety of local requirements." Accordingly their principal practical recommendations were, first, on the side of central authority, the unification of the existing central authorities,—namely, the Charity Commission, in its educational capacity, the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, and the Education Department at Whitehall,—in one central department, and the establishment of an Educational Council analogous in some of its functions to the Board of Admiralty and in others to the General Medical Council, in general character advisory to the Minister of Education, but charged in particular with the registration of teachers, the formation of a register of teachers having been strongly urged by the commissioners with a view to the encouragement of professional training; second, as to local authorities, the establishment of local authorities consisting of committees of the county councils with coöpted elements, these local authorities to be entrusted with powers such as the securing of a due provision of secondary instruction; the remodeling when necessary, and supervision of the working of endowed (other than non-local) schools, and other educational endowments; the watchful surveying of the field of secondary education, with the object of bringing proprietary and private schools into the general educational system, and of endeavoring to encourage and facilitate, so far as this can be done by stimulus, by persuasion, and by the offer of privileges and advice, any improvements they may be inclined to introduce; and the administration of such sums, either arising from rates within its area, or paid over by the national exchequer, as may be at its disposal for the promotion of education.

These administrative measures recommended by the Secondary Education Commission in 1895 were to be realized in the course of the next seven years. In the meantime an unsuccessful endeavor was made by Sir John Gorst on behalf of the Conservative government to pass in 1896 an act putting education in the hands of the town councils, and the county councils which had been created by the Local Government Act of 1888; but in 1897, by the passage of the Voluntary Schools Act, further financial aid came to the voluntary schools. In 1899, however, partial effect was given to the Bryce recommendations by the act of that year, to which reference has already been made, creating the Board of Education, but it was not until 1902 that an act was passed creating a local education

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authority for every area in England and Wales, and putting an end to the school boards, or *ad hoc* educational authorities as they are often called. And following the passing of the Act of 1902, the administrative reorganization¹ of the Education Office was completed, by which the Board became the central authority for elementary, secondary, and technological instruction.

In the light of the past history of English education legislation the Act of 1902, extended to London in 1903, was a remarkable measure. It embodied Mr. Arthur Balfour's belief in local government and local administrators, and, by giving large educational powers to the administrative bodies created by the Act of 1888, established education authorities for the whole country. Moreover, it compelled these authorities to take over all the voluntary schools, and under such stringent arrangements that, with the exception of schools attached to institutions, no voluntary school after a given date could receive any government grants unless taken over by the local authority. It was thus that in 1902 the Balfour bill brought England into line with Scotland, which in 1872 had been given by Mr. Gladstone a universal and compulsory school board system, establishing education authorities in every borough and parish throughout that country, and leaving the boards free to offer denominational teaching at the expense of the ratepayers. But while the Act thus effected a great educational reform, to the credit of the constructive statesmanship of the Conservative party which had availed itself of an ecclesiastical agitation to take an important step forward in the organization of national education, it in several ways offended many who might otherwise have welcomed it. As usual, compromises failed to satisfy and furthered controversy, provoking political and religious strife and strategy. The Act left the appointment and dismissal of teachers and the control of religious instruction to committees of managers, two thirds of whom were to be appointed by the owners of the schools. Furthermore, it failed to deal with the difficult question of areas having only one public elementary school, in most cases a denominational school. It was accordingly assailed on the one hand because it did not give full control to the local

¹ The chief administrative officer of the Board is the permanent secretary, controlling the three distinct branches of elementary, secondary, and subsequently of technical instruction, each under a separate principal assistant secretary. The Act of 1899 did not provide for an advisory education council as recommended by the Bryce Commission, but instead thereof, provision was made in the Act for the establishment of a Consultative Committee, with more restricted powers; the Consultative Committee was immediately charged in particular with the framing of regulations for a register of teachers to be "formed and kept in a manner to be provided by Order in Council"; the keeping of the register, thus begun, was discontinued in 1908, but was restored in 1912.

authority, and on the other because in many cases Nonconformists would be excluded from teaching positions in the voluntary or non-provided schools, and in many areas¹ their children could receive no religious instruction at school, except such as was given by the denominational teachers. Prolonged agitation against the Act was maintained by these opponents. In particular many Nonconformists declined as a protest to pay part of the education rate, and this hostility found public expression in what came to be known as the "Passive Resistance" movement, which resulted in the Local Authority Default Act of 1904, empowering the Board of Education, in case of default by the local authority, to make payment direct to the managers of the school and to deduct the amount from the sums payable to the defaulting authority on account of parliamentary grants. Now the Conservative government was nearing the end of its long tenure of power, and in the persistent antagonism of the Nonconformists to the Act of 1902 the Liberals saw assistance towards overthrowing their opponents at the next general election. Accordingly the new Liberal platform contained an education plank briefly summarized as popular control of all schools, no religious tests for teachers, and no payment for denominational religious education either from rates or taxes, and pledging the Liberals, if returned to power, to reward their supporters by legislation which would embody all three of these principles. Following the general election in January, 1906, the Liberals were returned by an enormous majority, though in the campaign the education question had been overshadowed by those of tariff reform and Chinese labor.

The Liberals with considerable promptness undertook to redeem their campaign pledges, but without success in Parliament. The religious difficulty² was the rock on which three or four education bills were in the

¹ The so-called problem of the single school areas, round which most of the controversy centred, was one of much more complication than might appear on the surface, for there were many country parishes and some urban centres where the only elementary school conveniently situated belonged to the Church of England or other religious body. In these schools the head teachers were always members of the church, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or Nonconformist, which owned the school, and the religious instruction was in accordance with its doctrine and discipline. On the other hand, in many great urban centres the only elementary schools available were under the control of the local education authorities, and in these schools no denominational teaching was allowed. Now in the several cases mentioned the children had no alternative but to attend the respective schools, and accordingly they either received religious instruction of a form gravely unsatisfactory to their parents, or, availing themselves of the conscience clause, received what was practically a secular education. See J. Thompson, "Forty-four Years of the Education Question, 1870-1914," London, Sherratt and Hughes, 1914.

² Under the New South Wales solution of the religious education problem, instituted in 1881, and later substituted for secular state education in Western

course of as many years one after the other wrecked. Three Liberal Presidents of the Board of Education in turn failed in attempts to repeal the provisions of the Act of 1902 for the denominational control of religious instruction. There was first the Bill of 1906, introduced by Mr. Birrell, framed to sound the death-knell of the voluntary system and secure the full public control of all elementary schools, with the appointment of teachers without reference to religious beliefs. Under its provisions religious instruction in accordance with the school trust deed could be given only out of school hours and not by the regular teachers, though in populous districts, upon the demand of a sufficient number of parents, special facilities for denominational teaching might be included in the school programme. The Birrell bill was killed by public opinion, though its death was ostensibly due to amendments introduced by the House of Lords, which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's government declined to accept. The government, however, was not slow in making a second attempt, and Mr. McKenna, who succeeded Mr. Birrell in 1907, promptly introduced his bill of that year. Though he had avowed that his measure should be not an olive branch but a sword, Mr. McKenna made at least one effort at compromise and settlement with the passive resisters by proposing that the managers of denominational schools should be liable for one-fifteenth of the teachers' salary, this amount representing payment for that portion of the teachers' time which was devoted to denominational instruction. The bill, born dead, was speedily dropped. Nor was Mr. McKenna more fortunate with his bill of 1908, which in fact failed to reach the committee stage. The latter bill undertook frankly to confiscate denominational schools in single school areas, while those of other areas on transfer to the local authority were to forfeit their special character. As an alternative, they might, at the discretion of the Minister of Education, be allowed to contract out, that is, to forego the support of the rates, and instead to receive state aid on the basis of a capitation grant. This proposed return to the discredited dual system ruined whatever prospects the bill may have had. Its author was shortly replaced at the Education Office by Mr. Runciman, who was equally bent on wiping out the Education Act of 1902. The bill introduced in 1903 by Mr. Runciman followed its immediate predecessors in providing for

Australia, Tasmania, and Queensland, there are no religious tests for the teachers. All children whose parents do not desire a different arrangement, receive simple uncontroversial instruction upon selected lessons from the Old and New Testaments. All denominations have equal privileges, which they can use or not at their discretion, of giving at their own expense, and during school hours, definite dogmatic instruction in their own respective doctrines. All children whose parents do not desire them to receive either general or special religious instruction, are taught some secular lesson during the time set apart for the religious instruction of the others.

the transfer of voluntary schools to the local education authority. It allowed contracting out. Schools with few exceptions were to be under the sole charge of the local authority, but denominational teaching was to be permitted on two days of the week, from 9 o'clock to 9:45 A. M. In the preparation of the Runciman bill the government had taken into consultation the leaders of the Church as well as the leaders of Non-conformity, though the Roman Catholics were not assenting parties to the negotiations. Regret was expressed on both sides that these negotiations failed to secure a satisfactory solution, but though unsuccessful the bill served one great advantage by making it clear that responsible leaders in the controversy were willing to make concessions to one another in the interests of a permanent settlement. And this readiness was indicative of a new spirit in the discussion of the religious education question. Mr. Pease¹ succeeded Mr. Runciman as Minister of Education in October, 1911, accepting the Cabinet portfolio, it was reported, with the proviso that he should not be expected to bring in an education bill in 1912.² However, in 1913 he introduced a measure of comparatively minor importance not directly affecting religious instruction, but early in its history this bill also was dropped. Then came the Great War. In the Coalition Ministry of 1915, Mr. Pease, as President of the Board of Education, was succeeded by Mr. Arthur Henderson, when for the first time in English history a member of the Labor party was called to share in Cabinet councils. In August, 1916, Mr. Henderson was followed at the Education Office by the Marquis of Crewe, who in turn gave place to Dr. Fisher in December of that year.

Sketching in somewhat rough outlines the historical background of Mr. Fisher's bill, the preceding paragraphs of these notes have presented a rather hurried review of some of the more important stages in the extension of state aid to elementary education, to secondary education, to technical education, and to university education. Any account of the last stages in advance of the Fisher measure should remark that while the decade 1906-16³ witnessed the enactment of no comprehensive general

¹ An anonymous friend of non-provided schools epitomized these several efforts as follows: Birrell proposed, in Bill of his, suppression, with facilities; McKenna, in his futile Bill, made no pretence to gild the pill; then Runciman, a sanguine gent, designed a "balanced settlement"; and now we pray, though ill at ease, that war may not be made by Pease.

² A bill introduced by Sir George Croydon Marks, seeking to suppress denominational schools in single school areas, passed its second reading on the 8th of March, 1912, was referred to a standing committee, and later abandoned.

³ During these ten years a remarkable movement, the Workers' Educational Association, for the education of adult citizens, has sprung up in England, extended its branches throughout the empire, and attracted widespread attention in Europe and America. Started on the initiative of Mr.

education legislation, it records legislative provision for several new departures in English public education. Certain of these developments are concerned chiefly with the health, leisure and subsistence of school children. The Employment of Children Act of 1904 had forbidden the employment between 9 P. M. and 6 A. M. of any child of school age, the employment of any child in work likely to be injurious to his health or education, and of children under eleven in street trading.¹ For the enforcement of these and similar laws, the period shows a general movement towards placing the whole care of children under the educational rather than the police or other authorities. By the passage of the Education Provision of Meals Act of 1906, local education authorities in England and Wales were empowered to provide for the feeding of necessitous children and to coöperate for this purpose with any voluntary agencies already in existence. More liberal provisions of this sort made in Scotland in 1908, were, immediately after the War broke out in August, 1914, extended by Parliament to England, Wales and Ireland. In 1907 an uncontroversial act entitled the Education Administrative Provisions Act allowed local education authorities to establish vacation schools² during the holidays or at any other time, and to give assistance to voluntary committees organized for such purpose. The same act made medical inspection of school children compulsory in England and Wales, and gave the local education authorities power to provide medical treatment. The report of this branch of the service for the year 1915 reveals

Albert Mansbridge, by a group of trade unionists and coöperators, the movement assumed shape in a national conference of workers and scholars held at Oxford, 1903, and some three years later assumed its present name. The W. E. A., as it is now familiarly called, is democratically governed, without political or religious affiliation of any kind. In coöperating with the movement the University of Oxford took the lead in 1907, and in 1908 the association's first university tutorial classes were established at Rochdale and the Potteries. For the organization and supervision of such university tutorial classes every university in England has at present state-aided joint committees consisting of an equal number of university and working-class representatives. See "Oxford and Working-Class Education," Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908; Albert Mansbridge, "University Tutorial Classes," London, Longmans, 1913; Alfred E. Zimmern, "Nationality and Government," New York, McBride, 1918; and for a conservative view of this movement, written by a Canadian publicist, see Andrew Macphail, "Essays in Fallacy," London, Longmans, 1910.

¹ For the further safeguarding of young people who are early forced into industries the act of November 28, 1910, authorized the education authorities to give assistance to boys and girls under seventeen years of age in securing employment.

² The first vacation school in England was opened in London in 1902 at the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place. The credit of its initiation is due to Mrs. Humphry Ward, and the money for its support was subscribed by friends. See Alexander Morgan, "Education and Social Progress," London, Longmans, 1916.

startling figures. It appears that of the six million state school children, over one million are too defective or diseased in body or mind to reap reasonable benefit from the educational facilities open to them, two million have defective sight, four million have defective teeth, half a million suffer from malnutrition, a quarter million are seriously crippled or disabled, and more than a quarter million are verminous. Under the present system each child is inspected at three points of school life, but with the machinery so far developed, only two million can be dealt with each year, and where treatment is required only half the work can be done. Despite the magnitude of its task and the present inadequacy of the organization of this department, the chief medical officer of the Board of Education, Sir George Newman, believes that "to secure for all children from infancy an adequate upbringing based on a sufficiency of food, air and exercise is a problem well within compass, not involving either large expenditure or revolutionary methods."¹ Whether or not so sanguine an expectation may be entertained, the value of the school medical inspection and treatment can hardly be overestimated. The comparative statistics embodied in the annual medical reports are invaluable, though war conditions have rendered their interpretation difficult. For example, it appears that the percentage of strong and healthy children in London actually decreased by nearly ten between 1912 and 1914, while in 1915 the percentage rose by about three points, and this improvement held approximately in 1916, though it was not maintained in the following year. The work and revelations of this department have also led to more recent parliamentary provision for the training of defective and epileptic children for which acts were passed in 1913 and in 1914, supplementing those of 1899 and 1906. And in July, 1914, the Board of Education agreed to recognize schools for mothers as part of the educational equipment of the country and to pay to the managers of such schools grants up to fifty per cent. of their approved expenditure.

Free medical attention and free feeding were inevitable paternalistic accompaniments of free education under a universal compulsory system of public elementary education. "It is a platitude, I know," said Mr. Pease when about to leave his post after a longer tenure of it than any of his predecessors at the Board of Education, "when I say that it is a waste of effort to try to educate children who are not physically fit. Our great object is to get children to the schools in a healthy condition." Accordingly during his administration great importance was laid on the medical and physical side of education. The three years of that adminis-

¹ See an illuminating series of articles on "The Education Question," contributed by the Master of Balliol to the *English Review* for May, June, and July, 1917.

tration prior to the war were occupied in preparing proposals for a government bill which it had been intended to press through Parliament in the autumn of 1914, but the outbreak of the war prevented the government from then proceeding further with the measure. Mr. Pease has more lately insisted¹ that any such measure would have to deal with the four great problems of the continuity of education, the improvement² of the teachers' positions, the physical condition of the children, and the organization of scholarships. In a review of the work of his department during the War made in the House of Commons in May, 1915, he proposed, among his last official acts, the appointment of an advisory council on industrial research. Shortly after Mr. Arthur Henderson became Minister of Education, action to this effect was taken in July, 1915, and on a broader basis than was contemplated in Mr. Pease's original recommendation. The new department of scientific and industrial research is under the control of a special committee of the Privy Council, whose original non-ministerial members included Mr. Pease, Mr. Arthur Acland, at one time chief of the education department, and Lord Haldane, who for years has thundered on the importance of national education to national industry. The whole scheme, however, is directed by a small advisory council, with Sir William McCormick as chairman, and composed mainly of eminent scientific men and men actually engaged in industrial enterprises dependent upon scientific research.

When Mr. Henderson came to the Education Office there stood to his credit the act for the feeding of necessitous children which had been promoted by the Labor party in 1906. The interests of Labor in the national crisis soon demanded all his energies, but before he resigned the presidency of the Board of Education to become Labor Adviser to His Majesty's Government, several war policies of the department had already been clearly determined. On presenting his estimates for educational expenditure during the year 1916-17 Mr. Henderson said that the educational system of the country had stood the stress and strain of the war satisfactorily.³ The estimated educational expenditure for 1916-17 was £15,186,732. This sum was less by £294,646 than the sum provided

¹ See "A National System of Education for England and Wales," by Lord Gamford (the Right Hon. Joseph A. Pease), in the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1917.

² To this end the National Union of Teachers, "the trade union, so to speak, of the teachers," has been systematically working since the days of its foundation in 1870.

³ In Mr. Henderson's speech referred to above, the judgment of a distinguished officer is quoted to the effect that if it had not been for the discipline of the elementary school, it would not have been possible to have raised and trained the new armies of England, and that thirty years ago a thing of the kind would have been impossible.

by the preceding year's estimates, but it was no less than the expenditure for that year.¹ He felt that all possible retrenchments had been made, but that any question of educational maintenance or of educational reform was in fact a question of national finance. It was always a question of money, more money, and still more money. Moreover, Mr. Henderson expressed the belief that the war had been assisting in the creation of a greater body of public opinion in favor of a more liberal expenditure on education, and that the essential importance of a comprehensive and efficient system of education on the progressive development of national life and the solidifying of the empire had come to be more universally recognized. This principle, he said, the nation should on no account, not even because of its increased expenditure on the war, be deterred from bringing into action. Such action had to be encouraged and fostered as an act of sheer gratitude, if for no other reason, to the men who had fought, suffered and died for their country. In alluding to plans already made by the government, Mr. Henderson stated that for the general work of education reorganization, in addition to an educational reviewing committee, which would itself be a subcommittee of the Prime Minister's Reconstruction Committee, three other non-Cabinet committees of experts would investigate several subjects fundamental to any scheme of reorganization. The first of these, under the presidency of Mr. Herbert Lewis, parliamentary secretary of the Board, would investigate the whole problem of the education of young persons after the war, with special regard to those who had been abnormally employed. The two other committees, under the chairmanship of Professor Sir J. J. Thomson and Mr. Stanley Leathes, would inquire, respectively, into the position of science on the one hand and modern languages on the other in the future development of public education. The instructions to these two committees are significant. They perhaps point to a new scale of values in the subjects of English secondary and university education. In both cases the inquiry is to be concerned with "the requirements of a liberal education"; as a part thereof the Modern Languages Committee is to consider "the history, literature, and civilization of other countries" with special reference to the interests of commerce and the public service, while "the interests of the trades, industries, and professions which particularly depend upon applied science" are to be considered by the Science Committee as well as "the advancement of pure science in the secondary

¹ In 1911-12 the actual expenditure of the Department of Education was £14,302,859; in 1912-13, £14,332,018; in 1913-14, £14,368,794; in 1914-15, £15,096,235—the large increase between these two years being caused by special grants to necessitous areas; and in 1915-16 the total expenditure had grown to £15,174,300.

schools and universities." The reports¹ of these several special committees on juvenile education, science, and modern languages were to be considered by the Reviewing Committee and by that body coördinated into recommendations as a basis for legislation. The Reviewing Committee was initially fortunate in having as its chairman Lord Crewe, who had advocated just such a committee programme in the memorable debates in the House of Lords in July, 1916, on the training and future welfare of the nation. Nor was it a less fortunate circumstance that Lord Crewe was simultaneously President of the Board of Education, though his tenure of that office was too short for the realization of this committee programme, and his administration accordingly proved to be one of transition to the period of progress reserved for his successor.

And it was to be a period of progress. Mr. Fisher's predecessors had prepared the way. Public spirit had been informing public opinion and public opinion had been expressing the public mind. Just before the war a great wave of enthusiasm for education had been sweeping the country. The war raised that wave into a waterspout. The *Times* thundered. The air was electric with educational reform. The National Union of Teachers, for elementary education, the Assistant Masters Association, representing secondary education, the Workers' Educational Association, in the interests of labor, and a score of other organizations had been flashing in quick succession one proposal after another. From all points of the compass the clamor rose, and from all conditions of men. In the confusion of sounds, there were some half dozen clear undertones common to all. These the new minister caught and counterpointed into a constructive programme. New in politics, he proved to be an astute politician. Another historian on the stump, his success was comparable with Woodrow Wilson's. New in Parliament, he soon was recognized as an expert parliamentarian. His maiden speech was made in introducing the Education Estimates² in the House of Commons on April 19th, 1917, on the seventieth anniversary to a day of another great educational speech, that of Macaulay in 1847 when state grants were extended from school buildings to education itself. This speech foreshadowed the great measure, already forecast in the public prints, which Mr. Fisher introduced on August 10th, 1917, in a seventy-five minute

¹ The Lewis Report, Cd. 8512, appeared in the spring of 1917; the Thomson Report, Cd. 9011, and the Leathes Report, Cd. 9036, were published a year later.

² The estimated expenditure for normal upkeep in 1917-18 was £15,159,780, being less by £26,952 than the amount voted by Parliament in the year 1916-17. But Mr. Fisher asked for a supplementary appropriation of nearly four million pounds, four million less the last-named sum above, and got it, chiefly for salaries and secondary education.

discourse characterized by the *Times* report as a "clear and arresting statement, with hardly a superfluous word," and by Mr. Acland, from the Front Opposition Bench, as marking "the greatest advance in the education of the people since 1870" and recording "a splendid step forward in the national awakening, recalling Milton's words of two hundred and seventy years before, 'the reforming of education is one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, for the want whereof the nation perishes.'"

The specific proposals of Mr. Fisher's measure were formulated under six heads. We desire to improve the administrative organization of education. We are anxious to secure that every boy and girl of elementary school life up to the age of fourteen shall be unimpeded by the claims of industry. We desire to establish part-time day continuation schools, which every young person shall be compelled to attend, unless he or she is undergoing some suitable form of alternative instruction. We make a series of proposals for the development of the higher forms of elementary education and for the improvement of the physical condition of the children under instruction. We desire to consolidate the elementary school grants. We wish to make an effective survey of the whole educational provision of the country, and to bring private educational institutions into closer and more convenient relations to the national system.

Elaborating this sixfold programme in detail, Mr. Fisher said (and I am continuing to quote and paraphrase from the *London Times Educational Supplement* for August 16th, 1917) that the bill proposed to adhere to the administrative structure erected under the Act of 1902. Moreover, while the new measure touched education at many points, enlarging and enriching opportunities of education for the children of the poor, it did not affect the government of the universities, or of those institutions of secondary, technical, and other forms of higher education which are not maintained or aided by local education authorities. Nor could the bill deal with training colleges, libraries, or the scholarship and pension systems. On the other hand, for the improvement of the existing fabric of elementary education the bill proposed to encourage the establishment of nursery schools for children under five; to amend the law of school attendance so as to abolish all exemptions between the ages of five and fourteen, involving the abolition of the half-time system flourishing in parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire; and to place further restrictions on the employment of children during the elementary school period, in particular forbidding the employment for profit of any child under twelve. The most novel, if not the most important, provision in the bill proposed that, with certain exceptions, every young person no longer under any obligation to attend a public elementary school should attend a continua-

tion school for a period of three hundred and twenty hours in the year, or the equivalent of eight hours a week for forty weeks. Every young person who had not received a full-time education up to the age of sixteen, was to receive a part-time education up to eighteen either in schools provided by the local education authority or in schools under their direction, such as those established by manufacturers in their works. Furthermore, the bill provided that such part-time instruction must be by day, must be taken out of the employer's time, nor might any young person be worked unduly long hours during the days on which the continuation classes were held. In this connection and others the bill would offer many opportunities for better physical education and social training by giving physical training a place in the continuation schools; by empowering the local education authority to establish nursery schools and to maintain playing fields, school baths, game centres, and equipment for physical training; and by extending the powers with respect to medical inspection already possessed by the education authorities. Finally Mr. Fisher discussed in particular three of the bill's administrative provisions, namely, those relating to the inspection of public and private schools, to the collection of educational information, and to the consolidation of all grants for elementary education.

In Parliament the more purely educational provisions of the measure were cordially received, but the administrative clauses encountered considerable opposition, which became so formidable that the bill was, in December, 1917, allowed to lapse with the understanding that a revised form would be introduced later. The opposition was mainly due, as has been intimated earlier in these notes, to the possible interpretation of certain of the administrative provisions as establishing bureaucratic control under central authority, thus imperilling the freedom and autonomy of the local authorities, and to this English educational tradition had been long opposed. From another direction fears had also been expressed that "one of the effects of the original bill might be to prejudice the position of the voluntary schools and the religious education in those schools." In the revised form introduced on January 14th, 1918, Mr. Fisher had met most of these objections, as may be inferred on reading his short introductory speech, reproduced in part in a later section of this article, in which he indicated either the omission of offending clauses or suggested satisfactory substitutions therefor. As might have been expected, the proposed changes in the revised bill were concerned primarily with administrative measures. So far successfully steered by the wisdom and tact of a stout-hearted pilot, the bill on its new course was shortly to be threatened by serious disturbance from an old storm centre, already well charted by wrecks of educational measures, for a group of child labor

employers, led by the Federation of British Industries, induced in a "small but powerful body of reactionaries in the House of Commons" determined opposition to the proposed compulsory continuation education. However, inasmuch as sufficient teachers were not immediately available to man the new continuation schools, Mr. Fisher was in position to modify his course without abandoning its guiding principle. And thus, after political adventures against some adverse currents, in almost exactly a twelvemonth the Fisher bill realized the *bon voyage* waved by Lord Crewe on its first days out, "It must be the hope of all friends of education that the measure may enjoy fair winds during its passage through Parliament, and that it may be signalled into port before many months have gone by."

II

FINAL FORM OF THE ACT AS SIGNED ON AUGUST 8, 1918

An Act to make further provision with respect to Education in England and Wales and for purposes connected therewith.

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

1.—With a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby, it shall be the duty of the council of every county and county borough, so far as their powers extend, to contribute thereto by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organization of education in respect of their area, and with that object^{1*} any such council from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes showing the mode in which their duties and powers under the Education Acts are to be performed and exercised, whether separately or in coöperation with other authorities.

2.—(1)¹ It shall be the duty of a local education authority² so to exercise their powers under Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, as³—

(a) to make, or otherwise to secure,⁴ adequate and suitable provision by means of central schools, central or special classes, or otherwise—

^{1*} While reproducing here the official text of the final form of the bill as printed in the *London Times*, it has seemed desirable to provide for comparative readings of the final form with the two earlier forms of the bill. Space, however, is not available for reprinting *in toto* each of the three forms, nor is this size of page practicable for parallel columns of variations; accordingly an effort has been made to furnish the means of reconstructing the earlier forms out of the final form by inserting indices 1, 2, 3, . . . at points in the final form where variations occur in one or both of the earlier forms; and in order to do the least possible violence to the running text of the final bill, these variations are assembled, in the section immediately following this reprint, in a series of numbered paragraphs bearing, respectively, the numbers of the several paragraphs of the final form of the bill.

(i) for including in the curriculum of public elementary schools, at appropriate stages, practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities, and requirements⁵ of the children; and

(ii) for organizing in public elementary schools courses of advanced instruction for the older or more intelligent children⁶ in attendance at such schools, including children who stay at such schools beyond the age of fourteen;⁷

(b)⁸ to make, or otherwise to secure, adequate and suitable arrangements under the provisions of paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of section thirteen of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, for attending to the health and physical condition of children educated in public elementary schools; and

(c) to make, or otherwise to secure,⁹ adequate and suitable arrangements for coöperating with local education authorities for the purposes of¹⁰ Part II. of the Education Act, 1902, in matters of common interest, and particularly in respect of—

(i) the preparation of children for further education in schools other than elementary, and their transference at suitable ages to such schools; and¹¹

(ii) the supply and training of teachers;

and¹² any such authority from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes for the¹³ exercise of their powers as an authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902.

(2)¹⁴ So much of the definition of the term "elementary school" in section three of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, as requires that elementary education shall be the principal part of the education there given, shall not apply to such courses of advanced instruction as aforesaid.

3.—(1)¹ It shall be the duty of the local education authority for the purposes of Part II. of the Education Act, 1902, either separately or in coöperation with other local education authorities, to establish and maintain, or secure the establishment and maintenance under their control and direction of a sufficient supply of, continuation schools in which suitable courses of study,² instruction, and physical training are provided without payment of fees for all young persons resident³ in their area who are, under this Act, under an obligation to attend such schools.

(2) For the purposes aforesaid the local education authority⁴ from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes⁵ for the progressive organization of a system of continuation schools, and for⁶ securing general and regular attendance thereat,⁷ and in preparing schemes under this section the local education authority shall have regard to the desirability of including therein arrangements for coöperation with universities in the provision of lectures and classes for scholars for whom instruction by such means is suitable.

(3)⁸ The council of any county shall, if practicable, provide for the inclusion of representatives of education authorities for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, in any body of managers of continuation schools within the area of those authorities.

4.¹—(1) The Council of any county, before submitting a scheme under this Act, shall consult the other authorities within their county (if any) who are authorities for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, with reference to the mode in which and the extent to which any such authority will coöperate with the council in carrying out their scheme, and when submitting their scheme shall make a report to the Board of Education as to the

coöperation which is to be anticipated from any such authority, and any such authority may, if they so desire, submit to the Board as well as to the council of the county any proposals or representations relating to the provision or organization of education in the area of that authority for consideration in connexion with the scheme of the county.

(2)² Before submitting schemes under this Act a local education authority shall consider any representations made to them by parents or other persons or bodies of persons interested, and shall adopt such measures to ascertain their views as they consider desirable, and the authority shall take such steps to give publicity to their proposals as they consider suitable, or as the Board of Education may require.

(3) A local education authority in preparing schemes under this Act shall have regard to any existing supply of efficient and suitable schools or colleges not provided by local education authorities, and to any proposals to provide such schools or colleges.

(4) In schemes under this Act adequate provision shall be made in order to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees.

5.¹—(1) The Board of Education may approve any scheme (which term shall include an interim provisional or amending scheme) submitted to them under this Act by a local education authority, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the local education authority to give effect to the scheme.

(2) If the Board of Education are of opinion that a scheme does not make adequate provision in respect of all or any of the purposes to which the scheme relates, and the Board are unable to agree with the authority as to what amendments should be made in the scheme, they shall offer to hold a conference with the representatives of the authority and, if requested by the authority, shall hold a public inquiry in the matter.

(3) If thereafter² the Board of Education disapprove a scheme, they shall notify the authority, and, if within one month after such notification³ an agreement is not reached, they shall lay before Parliament the report of the public inquiry (if any) together with a report stating their reasons for such disapproval and any action which they intend to take in consequence thereof by way of withholding or reducing any grants payable to the authority.

6.—(1)¹ For the purpose of performing any duty or exercising any power under the Education Acts, a council having powers under those Acts may enter into such arrangements as they think proper for coöperation or combination with any other council or councils having such² powers, and any such arrangement may provide for the appointment of a joint committee or a joint body of managers,³ for the delegation to that committee or body of managers of any powers or duties of the councils (other than the power of raising a rate or borrowing money), for the proportion of⁴ contributions to be paid by each council,⁵ and for any other matters which appear necessary⁶ for⁷ carrying out the⁸ arrangement.

(2)⁹ The Board of Education may, on the application of two or more councils having powers under the Education Acts, by scheme provide for the establishment and (if thought fit) the incorporation of a federation for such purposes of any such arrangement¹⁰ as aforesaid as may be specified in the scheme as being purposes relating to matters of common interest concerning education which it is necessary or convenient to consider in relation to areas larger than those of individual education authorities, and the powers conferred on councils by this section shall include power to arrange for the performance of any educational or administrative functions by such a federation as if it were a joint committee or a joint body of managers:

¹¹ Provided that no council shall without its consent be included in a scheme establishing a federation and no council shall be obliged to continue in a federation except in accordance with the provisions of a scheme to which it has consented.

(3) A scheme made by the Board of Education constituting a federation, and an arrangement establishing a joint committee or a joint body of managers, shall provide for the appointment of at least two-thirds of the members by councils having powers under the Education Acts, and may provide either directly or by co-optation for the inclusion of teachers¹² or other persons of experience in education and of representatives of universities or other bodies.

(4) A scheme constituting a federation may on the application of one or more of the councils concerned be modified or repealed by a further scheme, and, where a scheme provides for the discontinuance of a federation, provision may be made for dealing with any property or liabilities of the federation.

(5)¹³ Where any¹⁴ arrangement under¹⁵ this section provides for the payment of an annual contribution by one council¹⁶ to another, the contribution shall, for the purposes of section nineteen of the Education Act, 1902, form part of the security on which money may be borrowed under that section.

7. The limit under section two of the Education Act, 1902, on the amount to be raised by the council of a county out of rates for the purpose of education other than elementary shall cease to have effect.

ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL AND EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

8.—(1) Subject as provided in this Act,¹ no exemption from attendance at school shall be granted to any child between the ages of five and fourteen years, and any enactment giving a power, or imposing a duty, to provide for any such exemption, and any provision of a by-law providing for any such exemption, shall cease to have effect, without prejudice to any exemptions already granted. Any by-law which names a lower age than fourteen as the age up to which a parent shall cause his child to attend school shall have effect as if the age of fourteen were substituted for that lower age.

(2) In section seventy-four of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, as amended by section six of the Elementary Education Act, 1900, fifteen years shall be substituted for fourteen years as the maximum age up to which by-laws relating to school attendance may require parents to cause their children to attend school, and any such by-law requiring attendance at school of children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen may apply either generally to all such children,² or to children other than those³ employed in any specified occupations:

Provided that it shall be lawful for a local education authority to grant exemption from the obligation to attend school to individual children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen for such time and upon such conditions as the authority think fit in any case where after due inquiry the circumstances seem to justify such an exemption.

(3)⁴ It shall not be a defence to proceedings relating to school attendance under the Education Acts or any by-laws made thereunder that a child is attending a school or institution providing efficient elementary instruction unless the school or institution is open to inspection either by the local edu-

cation authority or by the Board of Education, and unless satisfactory registers are kept of the attendance of the scholars thereat.

(4)⁵ A local education authority may with the approval of the Board of Education make a by-law under section seventy-four of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, providing that parents shall not be required to cause their children to attend school or to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic before the age of six years:

Provided that in considering any such by-law the Board shall have regard to the adequacy of the provision of nursery schools for the area to which the by-law relates, and shall, if requested by any ten parents of children attending public elementary schools for that area, hold a public inquiry for the purpose of determining whether the by-law should be approved.

(5)⁶ Notwithstanding anything in the Education Acts the Board of Education may, on the application of the local education authority, authorize the instruction of children in public elementary schools till the end of the school term in which they reach the age of sixteen or (in special circumstances) such later age as appears to the Board desirable:

Provided that, in considering such application, the Board shall have regard to the adequacy and suitability of the arrangements made by the authority under paragraphs (a) and (c) of subsection (1) of section two of this Act and to the effective development and organization of all forms of education in the area, and to any representations made by the managers of schools.

(6)⁷ The power of a local education authority under section seven of the Education Act, 1902, to give directions as to secular instruction shall include the power to direct that any child in attendance at a public elementary school shall attend during such hours as may be directed by the authority at any class, whether conducted on the school premises or not, for the purpose of practical or special instruction or demonstration,⁸ and attendance at such a class shall, where the local education authority so direct, be deemed for the purpose of any enactment or by-law relating to school attendance to be attendance at a public elementary school:

Provided that, if by reason of any such direction a child is prevented on any day from receiving religious instruction in the school at the ordinary time mentioned in the time-table, reasonable facilities shall be afforded subject to the provisions of section seven of the Elementary Education Act, 1870,⁹ for enabling such child to receive religious instruction in the school at some other time.

(7)¹⁰ In section eleven of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, (which relates to school attendance), for the words "there is not within two miles" there shall be substituted the words "there is not within such distance as may be prescribed by the by-laws."

(8)¹¹ Nothing in this section shall affect the provisions of the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, or the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Acts, 1899 to 1914, relating to the attendance at school of the children to whom those¹² Acts apply.

9.—(1) If a child who is attending or is about to attend¹ a public elementary school or a school certified by the Board of Education under the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, or the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Acts, 1899 to 1914,² attains any year of age during the school term, the child shall not, for the purpose of any enactment or by-law, whether made before or after the passing of this Act, relating to school attendance, be deemed to have attained that year of age until the end of the term.

(2) The local education authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, may make regulations with the approval of the Board of Education, providing that a child may, in such cases as are prescribed by the regulations, be refused admission to a public elementary school¹ or such certified school as aforesaid³ except at the commencement of a school term.⁴

10.—(1) Subject as hereinafter provided, all young persons shall attend such continuation schools at such times, on such days, as the local education authority of the area in which they reside may require, for three hundred and twenty hours in each year, distributed as regards times and seasons as may best suit the circumstances of each locality,¹ or, in the case of a period of less than a year, for such number of hours distributed as aforesaid² as the local education authority, having regard to all the circumstances, consider reasonable:

³ Provided that—

- (a) the obligation to attend continuation schools shall not, within a period of seven years from the appointed day on which the provisions of this section come into force, apply to young persons between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, nor after that period to any young person who has attained the age of sixteen before the expiration of that period; and
- (b) during the like period, if the local education authority so resolve, the number of hours for which a young person may be required to attend continuation schools in any year shall be two hundred and eighty instead of three hundred and twenty.

(2) ⁴ Any young person—

- (i) who is above the age of fourteen years on the appointed day; or⁵
- (ii)⁶ who has satisfactorily completed a course of training for, and is engaged in, the sea service, in accordance with the provisions of any national scheme which may hereafter be established, by Order in Council or otherwise, with the object of maintaining an adequate supply of well-trained British seamen, or, pending the establishment of such scheme, in accordance with the provisions of any interim scheme approved by the Board of Education; or
- (iii)⁷ who is above the age of sixteen years and either—

(a) has passed the matriculation examination of a university of the United Kingdom or an examination recognized by the Board of Education for the purposes of this section⁸ as equivalent thereto; or

(b) is shown⁹ to the satisfaction of the local education authority to have been up¹⁰ to the age of sixteen under full-time instruction in a school recognized by the Board of Education as efficient or under suitable and efficient full-time instruction in some other manner,

¹¹ shall be exempt from the obligation to attend continuation schools under this Act unless he has informed the authority in writing of his desire to attend such schools and the authority have prescribed what school he shall attend.

(3) The obligation to attend continuation schools under this Act shall not apply to any young person—

- (i) who is shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority to be under full-time instruction in a school recognized by the Board of Education as efficient or to be under suitable and efficient full-time instruction in some other manner, or
- (ii) who is shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority to be under suitable and efficient part-time instruction in some other manner for a number of hours in the year (being hours during

which if not exempted he might be required to attend continuation schools) equal to the number of hours during which a young person is required under this Act to attend a continuation school.

(4)¹² Where a school supplying secondary education is inspected by a British university, or in Wales or Monmouthshire by the Central Welsh Board, under regulations made by the inspecting body after consultation with the Board of Education, and the inspecting body reports to the Board of Education that the school makes satisfactory provision for the education of the scholars, a young person who is attending, or has attended, such a school shall for the purposes of this section be treated as if he were attending, or had attended, a school recognized by the Board of Education as efficient.

(5)¹³ If a young person who is or has been¹⁴ in any school or educational institution, or the parent of any such young person, represents to the Board that the young person is entitled to exemption under the provisions of this section, or that the obligation imposed by this section does not apply to him,¹⁵ by reason that he is or has been¹⁶ under suitable and efficient instruction, but that the local education authority have unreasonably refused to accept the instruction as satisfactory, the Board of Education shall consider the representation, and, if satisfied that the representation is well founded, shall make an order declaring that the young person is exempt from the obligation to attend a continuation school under this Act for such period and subject to such conditions as may be named in the order:

Provided that the Board of Education may refuse to consider any such representation unless the local education authority or the Board of Education are enabled¹⁷ to inspect the school or educational institution in which the instruction is or has been given.

(6)¹⁸ The local education authority may require in the case of any young person who is under an obligation to attend a continuation school that his employment shall be suspended on any day when his attendance is required, not only during the period for which he is required to attend the school, but also for such other specified part of the day, not exceeding two hours, as the authority consider necessary in order to secure that he may be in a fit mental and bodily condition to receive full benefit from attendance at the school: Provided that, if any question arises between the local education authority and the employer of a young person whether a requirement made under this subsection is reasonable for the purposes aforesaid, that question shall be determined by the Board of Education, and, if the Board of Education determine that the requirement is unreasonable, they may substitute such other requirement as they think reasonable.

(7)¹⁹ The local education authority shall not require any young person to attend a continuation school on a Sunday, or on any day or part of a day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which he belongs,²⁰ or during any holiday or half-holiday to which by any enactment regulating his employment or by agreement he is entitled, nor so far as practicable during any holiday or half-holiday which in his employment he is accustomed to enjoy, nor between the hours of seven in the evening and eight in the morning: Provided that the local education authority may, with the approval of the Board, vary these²¹ hours in the case of young persons employed at night or otherwise employed at abnormal times.

(8)²² A local education authority shall not, without the consent of a young person, require him to attend any continuation school held at or in connexion with the place of his employment. The consent given by a young person for the purpose of this provision may be withdrawn by one month's notice in writing sent to the employer and to the local education authority.

Any school attended by a young person at or in connexion with the place of his employment shall be open to inspection either by the local education authority or by the Board of Education at the option of the person or persons responsible for the management of the school.

(9)²³ In considering what continuation school a young person shall be required to attend, a local education authority shall have regard, as far as practicable, to any preference which a young person or the parent of a young person under the age of sixteen may express, and if a young person or the parent of a young person under the age of sixteen represents in writing to the local education authority that he objects to any part of the instruction given in the continuation school which the young person is required to attend, on the ground that it is contrary or offensive to his religious belief, the obligation under this Act to attend that school for the purpose of such instruction shall not apply to him, and the local education authority shall, if practicable, arrange for him to attend some other instruction in lieu thereof or some other school.

11.—(1) If a young person fails, except by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause, to comply with any requirement imposed upon him under this Act for attendance at a continuation school, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five shillings, or, in the case of a second or subsequent offence, to a fine not exceeding one pound.¹

(2) If a² parent of a young person³ has conducted to⁴ or connived at the failure on the part of the young person to attend a continuation school as required under this Act, he shall, unless an order has been made against him in respect of such failure under section ninety-nine of the Children Act, 1908,⁵ be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding two pounds,⁶ or,⁷ in the case of a second or subsequent offence, whether relating to the same or another young⁸ person, to a fine not exceeding five pounds.

12.—(1) The Board of Education may from time to time make regulations prescribing the manner and form in which notice is to¹ be given as to the continuation school (if any) which a young person is required to attend, and the² times of attendance thereat, and as to the hours during which his employment must be suspended, and providing for the issue of certificates of age, attendance and exemption, and for the keeping and preservation of registers of attendance and generally for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act relating to continuation schools.

(2) For the purposes of the provisions of this Act relating to continuation schools, the expression "year" means in the case of any young person the period of twelve months reckoned from the date when he ceased to be a child, or any subsequent period of twelve months.

13.—(1) The Employment of Children Act, 1903, so far as it relates to England and Wales, shall be amended as follows:—

(i)¹ For subsection (1) of section three the following subsection shall be substituted:—

A child under the age of twelve shall not be employed; and a child of the age of twelve or upwards shall not be employed on any Sunday for more than two hours or² on any day on which he is required to attend school before the close of school hours on that day, nor on any day before six o'clock in the morning or after eight o'clock in the evening:

³ Provided that a local authority may make a by-law permitting, with respect to such occupations as may be specified, and subject to such conditions as may be necessary to safeguard the interests of the children, the employment of children of the age of twelve or upwards before school hours and the employment of children by

their parents, but so that any employment permitted by by-law on a school day before nine in the morning shall be limited to one hour, and that if a child is so employed before nine in the morning he shall not be employed for more than one hour in the afternoon.

- (ii) ⁴ In subsection (2) of section three, which prohibits the employment of a child under the age of eleven years in street trading, the words "under the age of eleven years" shall be repealed:

- (iii) ⁵ For section twelve the following section shall be substituted:—

Except as regards the City of London,⁶ the powers and duties of a local authority under this Act shall be deemed to be powers and duties under Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, and the provisions of the Education Acts for the time being in force with regard to those powers and duties and as to the manner in which the expenses of an authority under that Part of that Act shall be paid shall apply accordingly:

- (iv) ⁷ For the definition of the expression "local authority" there shall be substituted the following definition:—

The expression "local authority" means in the case of the City of London the mayor, aldermen, and commons of that city in common council assembled and elsewhere⁸ the local education authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902.

- (2) ⁹ The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1904, so far as it relates to England and Wales, shall be amended as follows:—

- (i) In paragraph (b) of section two, which restricts the employment of boys under the age of fourteen years and of girls under the age of sixteen years for the purpose of singing, playing or performing, or being exhibited for profit, or offering anything for sale, between nine p.m. and six a.m., "eight p.m." shall be substituted for "nine p.m." so far as relates to children under fourteen years of age:

- (ii) In paragraph (c) of section two, which restricts the employment of children under eleven years for the purpose of singing, playing or performing, or being exhibited for profit, or offering anything for sale, twelve years shall be substituted for eleven years:

- (iii) In section three, which relates to licences for the employment of children exceeding ten years of age, the age of twelve years shall be substituted for the age of ten years.

- (iv) ¹⁰ A licence under section three to take part in any entertainment or series of entertainments, instead of being granted, varied, added to, or rescinded as provided by that section, shall be granted by the local education authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, of the area in which the child resides, subject to such restrictions and conditions as are prescribed by rules made by the Board of Education, and may be rescinded by the authority of any area in which it takes effect or is about to take effect if the restrictions and conditions of the licence are not observed, and, subject as aforesaid, may be varied or added to by that authority at the request of the holder of the licence:

- (v) The holder of a licence shall at least seven days before a child takes part in any entertainment or series of entertainments furnish the local education authority of the area in which the entertainment is to take place with particulars of the licence and such other information as the Board of Education may by rules prescribe, and if he fails to furnish such particulars and information as aforesaid he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five pounds:

- (vi) Subsections (3) and (4) of section three shall cease to apply with respect to licences to take part in an entertainment or series of entertainments:
 - (vii) If the applicant for a licence or a person to whom a licence has been granted feels aggrieved by any decision of a local education authority he may appeal to the Board of Education, who may thereupon exercise any of the powers conferred on a local education authority by this section:
 - (viii) The provisions of this subsection shall not apply to any licence in force on the appointed day:
 - (ix)¹¹ References to the Employment of Children Act, 1903, shall be construed as references to that Act as amended by this Act.
- 14.—No child within the meaning of this Act shall be employed—
- (a) in any factory or workshop to which the Factory and Workshop Acts, 1901 to 1911, apply; or
 - (b) in any mine to which the Coal Mines Act, 1911, applies; or
 - (c) in any mine or quarry to which the Metalliferous Mines Acts, 1872 and 1875, apply,

unless lawfully so employed on the appointed day;¹ and those Acts respectively shall have effect as respects England and Wales as if this provision, so far as it relates to the subject-matter thereof, was incorporated therewith.

15.—(1) The local education authority, if they are satisfied by a report of the school medical officer or otherwise that any child is being employed in such a manner as to be prejudicial to his health or physical development, or to render him unfit to obtain the proper benefit from his education,¹ may either prohibit, or attach such conditions as they think fit to, his employment in that or any other manner, notwithstanding that the employment may be authorized under the other provisions of this Act or any other enactment.²

(2) It shall be the duty of the employer and the parent of any child who is in employment, if required by the local education authority, to furnish to the authority such information as to his employment as the authority may require, and, if the parent or employer fails to comply with any requirement of the local education authority or wilfully gives false information as to the employment, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding forty shillings.

16.—If any person—

- (a) employs a child in such a manner as to prevent the child from attending school according to the Education Acts and the by-laws in force in the district in which the child resides; or
- (b) having received notice of any prohibition or restriction as to the employment of a child issued by a local education authority under this Act, employs a child in such a manner as to contravene the prohibition or restriction; or
- (c) employs a young person in such a manner as to prevent the young person attending a continuation school which he is required to attend under this Act; or
- (d) employs a young person at any time when, in pursuance of any requirement under this Act issued by a local education authority, the employment of that young person must be suspended;

he shall be deemed to have employed the child or young person in contravention of the Employment of Children Act, 1903, and subsections (1) and (2) of section five and section six and section eight of that Act shall apply

accordingly as if they were herein re-enacted and in terms made applicable to¹ children and young persons within the meaning of this Act as well as to children within the meaning of that Act.

EXTENSION OF POWERS AND DUTIES

17. For the purpose of supplementing and reinforcing the instruction and social and physical training provided by the public system of education, and without prejudice to any other powers, a local education authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, as respects children attending public elementary schools, and a local education authority for the purposes of Part II. of that Act as respects other children and young persons and¹ persons over the age of eighteen attending educational institutions, may, with the approval of the Board of Education, make arrangements to supply or maintain or aid the supply or maintenance of—

- (a) holiday or school camps, especially for young persons attending continuation schools;
- (b) centres and equipment for physical training, playing fields (other than the ordinary playgrounds of public elementary schools not provided by the local education authority), school baths, school swimming baths;
- (c) other facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening.

18.—(1) The local education authority for the purposes¹ of Part II. of the Education Act, 1902, shall have the same duties and powers² with reference to making provision for the medical inspection and treatment of children and young persons attending—

- (i) secondary schools provided by them;
- (ii) any school to the governing body of which, in pursuance of any scheme made under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, any payments are made out of any general fund administered by a local education authority as a governing body under that Act, and any school of which a local education authority are the governing body under that Act;³
- (iii) continuation schools under their direction and control; and
- (iv) such other schools or educational institutions (not being elementary schools) provided by them as the Board direct;

as a local education authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, have under paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of section thirteen of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, with reference to children attending public elementary schools, and may exercise the like powers⁴ as respects children and young persons attending any school or educational institution, whether aided by them or not, if so requested by or on behalf of the persons having the management thereof.

(2) The Local Education Authorities (Medical Treatment) Act, 1909, shall apply where any medical treatment is given in pursuance of this section as it applies to treatment given in pursuance of section thirteen of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907.

19.—(1) The powers of local education authorities for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, shall include power to make arrangements¹ for—

- (a) supplying or aiding the supply of nursery schools (which expression shall include nursery classes)² for children over two and under five years of age, or such later age as may be approved by the Board of Education, whose³ attendance at such a school is necessary or desirable for their healthy physical and mental development; and

(b) attending to the health, nourishment, and physical welfare of children attending nursery schools.

(2)⁴ Notwithstanding the provisions of any Act of Parliament the Board of Education may, out of moneys provided by Parliament, pay grants in aid of nursery schools, provided that such grants shall not be paid in respect of any such school unless it is open to inspection by the local education authority, and unless that authority are enabled to appoint representatives on the body of managers to the extent of at least one-third of the total number of managers, and before recognizing any nursery school the Board shall consult the local education authority.

20.¹ A local education authority shall make arrangements under the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Acts, 1899 to 1914, for ascertaining what children in their area are physically defective or epileptic within the meaning of those Acts, and the provisions of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1914, relating to mentally defective children, shall be extended so as to apply to physically defective and epileptic children, and accordingly that Act shall have effect as if references therein to mentally defective children included references to physically defective and epileptic children.

21.¹ Where a local education authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, are satisfied in the case of any children that, owing to the remoteness of their homes or the conditions under which the children are living, or other exceptional circumstances affecting the children, those children are not in a position to receive the full benefit of education by means of the ordinary provision made for the purpose by the authority, the authority may, with the approval of the Board of Education, make such arrangements, either of a permanent or temporary character, and including the provision of board and lodging, as they think best suited for the purpose of enabling those children to receive the benefit of efficient elementary education, and may for that purpose enter into such agreement with the parent of any such child as they think proper.²

³ Provided that where a child is boarded out in pursuance of this section the local education authority shall, if possible, and, if the parent so requests, arrange for the boarding out being with a person belonging to the religious persuasion of the child's parents.

22.¹ Section one of the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, which confers on certain local education authorities the power of assisting boys and girls with respect to the choice of employment, shall have effect as if "eighteen years of age" were therein substituted for "seventeen years of age."

23.¹ With a view to promoting the efficiency of teaching and advanced study, a local education authority for the purposes of Part II. of the Education Act, 1902, may aid teachers and students to carry on any investigation for the advancement of learning or² research in or in connexion with an educational institution, and with that object may aid educational institutions.³

24.¹ It is hereby declared that the powers as to the provision of scholarships conferred by subsection (2) of section twenty-three of the Education Act, 1902, and by section eleven of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, include a power to provide allowances for maintenance.

25.¹ A local education authority shall not in exercise of the powers conferred upon them by paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of section thirteen of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, or by this Act, establish a general domiciliary service of treatment by medical practitioners for children or young persons, and in making arrangements for the treatment of children and young persons a local education authority shall consider

how far they can avail themselves of the services of private medical practitioners.

ABOLITION OF FEES IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

26.¹—(1) No fees shall be charged or other charges of any kind made in any public elementary school, except as provided by the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, and the Local Education Authorities (Medical Treatment) Act, 1909.

(2) During a period of² five years from the appointed day the Board of Education shall in each year, out of moneys provided by Parliament,³ pay to the managers of a school maintained but not provided by a local education authority in which fees were charged immediately before the appointed day,⁴ the average yearly sum paid to the managers under section fourteen of the Education Act, 1902, during the five years immediately preceding the appointed day.

(3)⁵ Nothing in this Act shall affect the provisions of section nine of the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, or of section eight of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

27.¹ If the governing body of any school or educational institution not liable to inspection by any Government department, or, if there is no governing body, the headmaster, requests the Board of Education to inspect the school or institution and to report thereon, the Board of Education may do so, if they think fit, free of cost; but this section shall be without prejudice to the provisions relating to the Central Welsh Board contained in subsection (1) of section three of the Board of Education Act, 1899.

28.¹—(1) In order that full information may be available as to the provision for education and the use made of such provision in England and Wales,

(a) It shall be the duty of the responsible person as hereinafter defined, in respect of every school or educational institution not in receipt of grants from the Board of Education,² to furnish to the Board of Education in a form prescribed by the Board—

(i) in the case of a school or educational institution existing at the appointed day, within three months of that day;

(ii) in the case of a school or educational institution opened after the appointed day, within three months of the opening thereof; the name and address of the school or institution and a short description of the school or institution;

(b) It shall be the duty of every such responsible person when required by the Board of Education to furnish to the Board such further particulars with respect to the school or institution as may be prescribed by regulations made by the Board:

Provided that the Board may exempt from both or either of the above obligations any schools or educational institutions with respect to which the necessary information is already in the possession of the Board or is otherwise available.

(2) If the responsible person fails to furnish any information required by this section, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds, and to a penalty not exceeding five pounds for every day on which the failure continues after conviction therefor.

(3) For the purposes of this section "the responsible person" means the secretary or person performing the duty of secretary to the governing body of the school or institution, or, if there is no governing body, the headmaster or person responsible for the management of the school or institution.

(4) Any regulations made by the Board of Education under this section with respect to the particulars to be furnished shall be laid before³ Parliament as soon as may be after they are made.

29.¹—(1) Notwithstanding anything in the Education Act, 1902, the appointment of all teachers of secular subjects not attached to the staff of any particular public elementary school and teachers appointed for the purpose of giving practical instruction, pupil teachers, and student teachers, shall be made by the local education authority, and it is hereby declared that the local education authority have power to direct the managers of any public elementary² schools not provided by them to make arrangements for the admission of any such teachers to the schools.

(2)³ The provisions of subsection (3) of section seven of the Education Act, 1902, shall apply to any question which arises under this section between the local education authority and the managers of a school.

30.¹—(1) The managers of a public elementary school not provided by the local education authority, if they wish to close the school, shall give² eighteen months' notice to the local education authority of their intention³ to close the school, and a notice under this provision shall not be withdrawn except with the consent of the local education authority.

(2) If the managers of a school who have given such a notice are unable or unwilling to carry on the school up to the expiration of the period specified in the notice, the school house shall be put at the disposal of the local education authority, if the authority so desire, for the whole or any part of the period, free of charge, for the purposes of a school provided by them, but subject to an obligation on the part of the authority to keep the school house in repair and to pay any outgoings in respect thereof,⁴ and to allow the use of the school house and the school furniture by the persons who were the managers of the school to the like extent and subject to the like conditions as if the school had continued to be carried on by those⁵ managers.

The use by the authority of the schoolhouse during such period⁶ for the purposes of a school provided by them shall not be deemed, for the purposes of section eight of the Education Act, 1902, to constitute the provision of a new school.

31.¹ Where there are two or more public elementary schools not provided by the local education authority of the same denominational character in the same locality, the local education authority, if they consider that it is expedient for the purpose of educational efficiency and economy, may, with the approval of the Board of Education, give directions for the distribution of the children in those² schools according to age, sex, or attainments, and otherwise with respect to the organization of the schools; and for the grouping of³ the schools under one body of managers constituted in the manner provided by subsection (2) of section twelve of the Education Act, 1902:

⁴ Provided that, if the constitution of the body of managers fails to be determined by the Board of Education under that section, the Board shall observe the principles and proportions prescribed by sections six and eleven of that Act; and that, if the managers of a school affected by any directions given under this section request a public inquiry, the Board shall hold a public inquiry before approving these⁵ directions.

32.¹—(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of section six of the Education Act, 1902, or, in the case of London, subsection (1) of section two of the Education (London) Act, 1903, as to the appointment of managers,³ any

public elementary school which in the opinion of the Board is⁴ organized for the sole⁵ purpose of giving advanced instruction to older children may be⁶ managed in such manner as may be approved by the local education authority, and, in the case of a school not provided by that authority, also by the managers of the school.⁷

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sections six and eight of the Education Act, 1902, or in section two of the Education (London) Act, 1903, the provision of premises for classes in practical or advanced instruction for children attending from more than one public elementary school shall not be deemed to be the provision of a new public elementary school, and any class conducted in such premises may be managed in such manner as may be approved by the local education authority.

33.¹—Except as expressly provided by this Act, nothing in this Act shall affect the provisions of the Education Acts relating to public elementary schools not provided by the local education authority or the provisions of Part II. of the Education Act, 1902.²

34.¹—(1) A local education authority may be authorized to purchase land compulsorily for the purpose of any of their powers or duties under the Education Acts, by means of an order submitted to the Board of Education and confirmed by the Board in accordance with the provisions contained in paragraphs (1) to (13) of the First Schedule to the Housing, Town Planning, &c., Act, 1909, and those provisions shall have effect for the purpose, with the substitution of the Board of Education for the Local Government Board, of the local education authority for the local authority, and of references to the Education Acts for references to "this Act":

Provided that—

- (a) the Board of Education shall not confirm any such order even when unopposed if they are of opinion that the land is unsuited for the purpose for which it is proposed to be acquired;
- (b)² an order for the compulsory purchase of land in the administrative county of London shall be subject to the provisions of subsection (2) of section two of the Educational (London) Act, 1903;
- (c) an order for the compulsory purchase of land which by section forty-five of the Housing, Town Planning, &c., Act, 1909, is exempt from compulsory acquisition for the purposes of Part III. of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, shall be provisional only and shall not have effect unless and until it is confirmed by Parliament.

(2) The powers given by this section in relation to the compulsory purchase of land by the local education authority shall be in substitution for any other powers existing for that purpose, but without prejudice to any powers conferred by any Provisional Order confirmed by Parliament before the appointed day.³

35.¹ A local education authority may, with the consent of the Board of Education, who shall consult the authority of the area in which the proposed site is situated, provide a public elementary school, in cases where it appears convenient to do so, on a site outside their area for the use of children within their area, and for the purposes of the Education Acts a school so provided shall be deemed to be situated within the area of the authority.

36.¹—(1) It shall not be obligatory on a county council to charge on or raise within particular areas any portion of such expenses as are mentioned in paragraph (c) or paragraph (d) of subsection (1) of section eighteen of the Education Act, 1902, and accordingly each of those paragraphs shall have effect as if for the word "shall" there was substituted the word "may" and as if the words "less than one half or" were omitted therefrom; and, where before the passing of this Act any portion of such expenses has²

been charged on or allocated to any area, the county council may cancel or vary the charge or allocation.

(2)³ Before charging any expenses under section eighteen (1) (a) of the Education Act, 1902, on any area situate within a borough or urban district the council of which is an authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, a county council shall consult the council of the borough or urban district concerned.

37.¹ Any expenses incurred by a council in connexion with any Provisional Order for the purposes of the Education Acts, or any Order under this Act for the purpose of the acquisition of land, shall be defrayed as expenses of the council under the Education Act, 1902, and the council shall have the same power of borrowing for the purpose of those expenses as they have under section nineteen of the Education Act, 1902, for the purpose of the expenses therein mentioned.

38.¹ Any council having powers under the Education Acts may, subject to regulations made by the Board of Education, defray as part of their expenses under those Acts any reasonable expenses incurred by them in paying subscriptions towards the cost of, or otherwise in connexion with, meetings or conferences held for the purpose of discussing the promotion and organization of education or educational administration, and the attendance of persons nominated by the council at any such meeting or conference: Provided that—

- (a) the expenses of more than three persons in connexion with any meeting or conference shall not be paid except with the previous sanction of the Board of Education;
- (b) payments for travelling expenses and subsistence shall be in accordance with the scale adopted by the council;
- (c) expenses shall not be paid in respect of any meeting or conference outside the United Kingdom unless the Board of Education have sanctioned the attendance of persons nominated by the council at the meeting or the conference;²
- (d) no expenses for any purpose shall be paid under this section without the approval of the Board of Education, unless expenditure for the purpose has been specially authorized or ratified by resolution of the council, after special notice has been given to members of the council of the proposal to authorize or ratify the expenditure, or, where a council has delegated its powers under this section to the education committee, by resolution of that committee after like notice has been given to the members thereof.

39.¹ The powers of a local education authority for the purposes of Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, shall include a power to prosecute any person² under section twelve of the Children Act, 1908, where the person against whom the offence was committed was a child within the meaning of this Act,³ and to⁴ pay any expenses incidental to the prosecution.

40.¹—(1) The Board of Education may hold a public inquiry² for the purpose of the exercise of any of their powers or the performance of any of their duties under the Education Acts.

(2) The following provisions shall (except as otherwise provided by the Education Acts)³ apply⁴ to any public inquiry held by the Board of Education:⁵—

- (a) The Board shall appoint a person or persons to hold the inquiry:⁶
- (b)⁷ The person or persons so appointed shall hold a sitting or sittings in some convenient place in the neighbourhood to which the subject of the inquiry relates, and thereat shall hear, receive, and examine

any evidence and information offered, and hear and inquire into the objections or representations made respecting the subject matter of the inquiry, with power from time to time to adjourn any sitting:

- (c)⁸ Notice shall be published in such manner as the Board direct of every such sitting, except an adjourned sitting, seven days at least before the holding thereof:
- (d)⁹ The person or persons so appointed shall make a report in writing to the Board setting forth the result of the inquiry and the objections and representations, if any, made thereat, and any opinion or recommendations submitted by him or them to the Board:
- (e) The Board shall furnish a copy of the report to any local education authority concerned with the subject matter of the inquiry, and, on payment of such fee as may be fixed by the Board, to any person interested:
- (f)¹⁰ The Board may, where it appears to them reasonable that such an order should be made, order the payment of the whole or any part of the costs of the inquiry either by any local education authority to whose administration the inquiry appears to the Board to be incidental,¹¹ or by the applicant for the inquiry, and may require the applicant for an inquiry to give security for the costs thereof:
- (g) Any order so made shall certify the amount to be paid by the local education authority or the applicant, and any amount so certified shall, without prejudice to the recovery thereof as a debt due to the Crown, be recoverable by the Board summarily as a civil debt from the authority or the applicant as the case may be.

41.¹ The minutes of the proceedings of a local education authority and, where a local education authority delegate to their education committee any powers and the acts and proceedings of the education committee as respects the exercise of those powers are not required to be submitted to the council for their approval, the minutes of the proceedings of the education committee, relating to the exercise of those powers, shall be open to the inspection of any ratepayer at any reasonable time during the ordinary hours of business on payment of a fee of one shilling, and any ratepayer may make a copy thereof or take an extract therefrom.

42.¹—(1) For the yearly sum payable to the Central Welsh Board under the scheme regulating the intermediate and technical education fund of any county, as defined by the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, there shall be substituted—

- (a) a yearly sum equal to a percentage not exceeding twenty-two and a half per cent. fixed from time to time at a uniform rate for every county by the Central Welsh Board of the sum produced by a rate of one halfpenny in the pound for the preceding year, calculated in the manner provided by subsection (3) of section eight of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889; and
- (b) a yearly sum equal to five per cent. of the net income for the preceding year of any endowment comprised in the intermediate and technical education fund of the county, or, in the alternative, for each year during such period as may be agreed with the Central Welsh Board, such yearly sum as that Board may agree to accept in lieu thereof.

(2) For the purpose of ascertaining the said net income there shall be deducted from the gross income all proper expenses and outgoings in respect of administration and management of the endowment (including charges for interest on and repayment of loans and replacement of capital), and any sums required by the scheme to be treated as capital, and the term "endow-

ment" shall include augmentations acquired by the investment of surplus income whether derived from endowment or county rate, or from any other source, but not property occupied for the purposes of the scheme.

(3) The power of charging capitation fees for scholars offered for examination conferred on the Central Welsh Board by the scheme of the thirteenth day of May, eighteen hundred and ninety-six, regulating the Central Welsh Intermediate Education Fund shall cease.

(4) The provisions of this section shall have effect and be construed as part of the schemes regulating the Central Welsh Intermediate Education Fund and the intermediate and technical education funds of counties in Wales and Monmouthshire, and may be repealed or altered by future schemes accordingly.

43.¹ All orders, certificates, notices, requirements, and documents of a local education authority under the Education Acts, if purporting to be signed by the clerk of the authority or of the education committee, or by the director of, or secretary for, education,² shall until the contrary is proved be deemed to be made by the authority and to have been so signed, and may be proved by the production of a copy thereof purporting to have been so signed.

EDUCATION GRANTS

44.¹—(1)² The Board of Education shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, by regulations provide for the payment to local education authorities out of moneys provided by Parliament of annual substantive grants in aid of education of such amount and subject to such conditions and limitations as may be prescribed in the regulations, and nothing in any Act of Parliament shall prevent the Board of Education from paying grants to an authority in respect of any expenditure which the authority may lawfully incur.

(2)³ Subject to the regulations made under the next succeeding subsection, the total sums paid to a local education authority out of moneys provided by Parliament and the local taxation account in aid of elementary education or education other than elementary, as the case may be, shall not be less than one half of the net expenditure of the authority recognized by the Board of Education as expenditure in aid of which Parliamentary grants should be made to the authority, and, if the total sums payable out of those moneys to an authority in⁴ any year fall short of one half of that expenditure, there shall be paid by the Board of Education⁵ to that authority, out of moneys provided by Parliament, a deficiency grant equal to the amount of the deficiency, provided that a deficiency grant shall not be so paid as to make good to the authority any deductions made from a substantive grant.

(3) The Board of Education may make regulations for the purpose of determining how the amount of any deficiency grant payable under this section shall be ascertained and paid,⁶ and those⁷ regulations shall, if the Treasury so direct, provide for the exclusion in the ascertainment of that amount of all or any sums paid by any Government department other than the Board of Education and of all or any expenditure which in the opinion of the Board of Education is attributable to a service in respect of which payments are made by a Government department other than the Board of Education.

(4) The fee grant under the Elementary Education Act, 1891, as amended by the Elementary Education (Fee Grant) Act, 1916, the aid grant under section ten of the Education Act, 1902, and the small population grant under section nineteen of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, as amended by the Education Code (1890) Act, 1890, and the Education (Small Population Grants) Act, 1915, shall cease on the appointed day.

(5)⁸ If, by reason of the failure of an authority to perform its duties under the Education Acts or to comply with the conditions on which grants are made, the deficiency grant is reduced or a deduction is made from any substantive grant exceeding five hundred pounds or the amount which would be produced by a rate of a halfpenny in the pound whichever is the less, the Board of Education shall cause to be laid before Parliament a report stating the amount of and the reasons for the reduction or deduction.

(6)⁹ Any regulations made by the Board of Education for the payment of grants shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be after they are made.

EDUCATIONAL TRUSTS

45.¹—(1) His Majesty may by Order in Council constitute and incorporate with power to hold land without licence in mortmain one or more official trustees of educational trust property, and may apply to the trustee or trustees so constituted the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1914, relating to the official trustee of charity lands and the official trustees of charitable funds so far as they relate to endowments which are held for or ought to be applied to educational purposes.

(2) On the constitution of an official trustee or official trustees of educational trust property,—

(a) all land or estates or interests in land then vested in the official trustee of charity lands which are held by him as endowments for solely educational purposes, and

(b) all securities then vested in the official trustees of charitable funds which those trustees certify to be held by them as endowments for solely educational purposes,

shall by virtue of this Act vest in the official trustee or trustees of educational trust property upon the trusts and for the purposes for which they were held by the official trustee of charity lands and the official trustees of charitable funds, and, on such a certificate by the official trustees of charitable funds as aforesaid being sent to the person having charge of the books or registers in which any such securities are inscribed or registered, that person shall make such entries in the books or registers as may be necessary to give effect to this section.

(3) If any question arises as to whether an endowment or any part of an endowment is held for or ought to be applied to solely educational purposes, the question shall be determined by the Charity Commissioners.

46.¹—(1) Any assurance, as defined by section ten of the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act, 1888, of land or personal estate to be laid out in the purchase of land for educational purposes, whether made before or after the passing of this Act, shall be exempt from any restrictions of the law relating to Mortmain and Charitable Uses, and the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Acts, 1888 and 1891, and the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act Amendment Act, 1892, shall not apply with respect to any such assurance.

(2) Subsection (1) of section ten of the Technical and Industrial Institutions Act, 1892, so far as it relates to the enrolment in the books of the Charity Commissioners of every conveyance or assurance of land for the purposes of institutions established under that Act, is hereby repealed.

(3) Every assurance of land or personal estate to be laid out in the purchase of land for educational purposes, including every assurance of land to any local authority for any educational purpose or purposes for which such authority is empowered by any Act of Parliament to acquire land, shall be sent to the offices of the Board of Education in London for the

purpose of being recorded in the books of the Board as soon as may be after the execution of the deed or other instrument of assurance, or in the case of a will after the death of the testator.

47.¹ Where, under any scheme made before the passing of this Act relating to an educational charity, the approval of the Board of Education is required to the exercise by the trustees under the scheme of a power of appointing new trustees, the scheme shall, except in such cases as the Board may otherwise direct, have effect as if no such approval was required thereunder, and the Board may by order make such modifications of any such scheme as may be necessary to give effect to this provision.

GENERAL

48.¹—(1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

The expression “child” means any child up to the age when his parents cease to be under an obligation to cause him to receive efficient elementary instruction or to attend school under the enactments relating to elementary education and the by-laws made thereunder;

The expression “young person” means a person under eighteen years of age who is no longer a child;

The expression “parent” in relation to a young person includes guardian and every person who is liable to maintain or has the actual custody of the young person;²

The expression “practical instruction” means instruction in cookery, laundry-work, housewifery, dairywork, handicrafts, and gardening, and such other subjects as the Board declare to be subjects of practical instruction;

The expression “school term” means the term as fixed by the local education authority;³

The expression “sea service” has the same meaning as in the Merchant Shipping Acts, 1894 to 1916, and includes sea-fishing service;⁴

Other expressions have the same meaning as in the Education Acts.

(2) In the Education Acts the expressions “employ” and “employment” used in reference to a child or young person include employment in any labour exercised by way of trade or for the purposes of gain, whether the gain be to the child or young person or to any other person.

49.¹ Section one hundred and twenty of the Local Government Act, 1888, which relates to compensation to existing officers, shall apply to officers serving under local education authorities at the passing of this Act who, by virtue of this Act or anything done in pursuance or in consequence of this Act, suffer direct pecuniary loss by abolition of office or by diminution or loss of fees or salary, subject as follows:—

- (a) Teachers in public elementary schools maintained by a local education authority shall be deemed to be officers serving under that authority;
- (b) References to a county council shall include references to a borough or urban district council;
- (c) The reference to “the passing of this Act” shall be construed as a reference to the date when the loss arose;
- (d) The reference to the Acts and rules relating to His Majesty’s civil service shall be construed as a reference to the Acts and rules which were in operation at the date of the passing of the Local Government Act, 1888; and

- (c) Any expenses shall be paid by the council under whom the officer was serving at the date when the loss arose out of the fund or rate out of which the expenses of the council under the Education Acts are paid, and, if any compensation is payable otherwise than by way of an annual sum, the payment of that compensation shall be a purpose for which a council may borrow for the purposes of those Acts.

50.¹ The provisions of the Education Acts mentioned in the first column of the First Schedule to this Act shall apply with respect to young persons, continuation schools, and the Education Acts and instruments made thereunder in like manner as they apply with respect to children, elementary schools, and the enactments mentioned in those provisions and instruments made under those enactments, and accordingly those provisions shall have effect as set out and modified in the second column of that schedule.

51.¹ The enactments mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent specified in the third column of that schedule.

52.¹—(1) This Act may be cited as the Education Act, 1918,² and shall be read as one with the Education Acts, 1870 to 1916, and those Acts and this Act may be cited together as the Education Acts, 1870 to 1918,³ and are in this Act referred to as "the Education Acts."

(2) This Act shall not extend to Scotland or Ireland.

(3) This Act shall come into operation on the appointed day, and the appointed day shall be such day as the Board of Education may appoint, and different days may be appointed for different purposes and for different provisions of this Act, for different areas or parts of areas, and for different persons or classes of persons:

Provided that the appointed day for the purposes of subsections (1) and (2) of section eight shall not be earlier than the termination of the present war, and for the purposes of paragraph (iii) of subsection (2) of section thirteen shall not be earlier than three years after the passing of this Act, and that for a period of seven years from the appointed day the duty of the council of a county (other than the London County Council) shall not include a duty to establish certified schools for boarding and lodging physically defective and epileptic children.⁴

III

TEXTUAL VARIATIONS OF THE FINAL FORM FROM THE ORIGINAL AND REVISED FORMS

NOTE.—The paragraph numerals below indicate the corresponding paragraphs in "F," the final bill. The small numbers are the index numbers as inserted in the preceding reprint of "F." "O" refers to the text of the original bill introduced by Mr. Fisher on August 10, 1917; "R," to that of the revised bill as introduced by Mr. Fisher on January 14, 1918.

In the course of a short speech introducing the second form of the bill, which has just been designated as "R," Mr. Fisher said: "The bill which I now introduce is substantially identical with the measure familiar to the House. It imposes upon the councils of counties and county boroughs the duty of providing for all forms of education. It abolishes exemptions from school attendance between five and fourteen years of age. It provides for further restrictions upon the industrial employment of children during the elementary school age, and for the gradual introduction of a system of compulsory day continuation classes for adolescents. In the new bill, as in the old one, local education authorities are empowered to give assistance to nursery schools and in other ways to help the physical and social welfare of the children committed to their charge. Indeed, attention to physical welfare is a special and distinctive note of both bills. On the other hand, I have

either omitted or amended certain of the administrative clauses. I introduce a new clause in place of Clause 4, which provided the machinery and procedure for the approval or disapproval of schemes. I omit Clause 5, which provided for provincial associations, and I embody in Clause 6 provisions which will facilitate the federation of local education authorities for certain purposes, which was the governing principle of Clause 5. I omit Clause 29, which provided the procedure for the transfer of the powers of non-county boroughs or urban districts to the county councils. I substitute a new revised clause for Clause 36, which dealt with public inquiries. I omit Clause 38, which dealt with the reference to the Board of Education of certain educational questions. I also substitute for Clause 40 a clause dealing with grants, and providing more specifically for a deficiency grant in aid of education in those cases where the substantive grant does not amount to fifty per cent. of the approved expenditure of elementary or higher education, as the case may be. I have also inserted words in different places in the bill to meet apprehensions of religious bodies who feared that one of the effects of the bill might be to prejudice the position of the voluntary schools and the religious education in those schools, and, in response to certain suggestions which have reached me from other quarters, I have introduced some alterations in the clauses dealing with the attendance at continuation classes, at nursery schools, and also in the clause dealing with the abolition of fees."

1. ¹ O substitutes "to" for "any . . . Education."

2. ¹ O and R insert the phrase: "In order that full benefit may be derived from the system of public elementary schools,". ² O and R substitute "for the purposes of" in place of "so . . . under". ³ O and R omit "as." ⁴ O and R omit "or otherwise to secure,". ⁵ O and R substitute "capacities, and circumstances" for "abilities and requirements." ⁶ O and R omit "or more intelligent children." ⁷ O and R insert "and." ⁸ O and R omit (b) entirely. ⁹ O and R omit "or otherwise to secure." ¹⁰ O substitutes "authorities exercising powers under" for "local . . . purposes of." ¹¹ O and R omit "and." ¹² O substitutes "when required by the Board of Education, to submit to them schemes for the purposes aforesaid" for "any . . . 1902." ¹³ R substitutes "purposes aforesaid" for "exercise . . . 1902." ¹⁴ O and R omit (2) entirely.

3. ¹ O and R insert the phrase: "With a view to continuing the education of young persons and helping them to prepare for the freedom and responsibilities of adult life." ² O and R omit "study." ³ O omits "resident." ⁴ O and R insert "after such consultation with persons or bodies interested as they consider desirable," and O substitutes "shall before the appointed day and subsequently" for "from . . . shall." ⁵ O substitutes "a scheme" for "schemes." ⁶ O and R insert "the purpose of." ⁷ O and R omit "and . . . suitable." ⁸ O and R omit (3) entirely.

4. ¹ Section 4 as given in F does not appear in O. Section 4 in O corresponds to section 5 in F; the text in O is as follows: "The Board of Education may approve any scheme (which in the first instance may be an interim scheme) submitted to them under this Act by a local education authority, either without alterations or with such alterations as they think fit after considering any representations made to them on the subject, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the local education authority to give effect to the scheme as approved by the Board of Education." ² R omits (2), (3), and (4) entirely.

5. ¹ Section 5 as it is given in O, has been dropped entirely from F. The text is as follows: "(1) With a view to the better coördination of education

* For purposes of abbreviation some such phrase as "O substitutes" is used in place of some such circumlocution as "In order to obtain the text of O at this point from the text of F make the following substitution." Variations in punctuation are not indicated where they do not affect the meaning of the text.

and the provision of advice and assistance for the Board of Education and local education authorities, particularly in respect of matters of common interest concerning education which it is necessary or convenient to consider in relation to areas larger than those of individual education authorities, the Board of Education may provide by scheme for the establishment and incorporation of provincial associations for such areas as the Board may direct. Any such scheme shall be made after consultation with the authorities appearing to the Board to be concerned, and shall provide for the representation of authorities and may provide directly or by coöptation for the inclusion of persons interested in the administrative or educational work of the area, and of representatives of universities and other bodies. Any scheme under this section may be modified or repealed by a further scheme, and where a scheme provides for the discontinuance of an association, provision may be made for dealing with any property or liabilities of the association. (2) Any such association may, if they think fit, with the approval of the Board of Education undertake any administrative and educational functions which may be delegated to them by any local education authority within their area, and any such local education authority shall have power to delegate to the association any such functions. (3) The Board of Education may, with the sanction of the Treasury, out of moneys provided by Parliament, make to an association grants in aid of any expense incurred by any such association under the scheme constituting the association (including the payment of travelling expenses of members of the association). (4) A local education authority whose area or any part of whose area is comprised in the area for which an association is established under this section, may undertake to contribute towards the expenses of the association so far as they are not met out of grants by the Board of Education. (5) The accounts of an association shall be audited as if the association were a separate local education authority, and the enactments relating to the audit of the accounts of local education authorities (including the penal provisions of those enactments) shall apply accordingly." ²R substitutes "after such conference or public inquiry" for "thereafter." ³R substitutes "thereafter" for "after such notification."

6. ¹In place of "For . . . arrangements . . . powers," O substitutes "Any local education authority having powers under the Education Act, 1902, may arrange with any other council having powers under that Act for coöperation or combination with that council in the performance of any duty or the exercise of any power relating to education on such terms as they think fit,". ²R substitutes "those" for "such." ³O omits "for . . . money),". ⁴O inserts "the." ⁵O substitutes "authority" for "council." ⁶O inserts "to them." ⁷O inserts "the purpose of." ⁸O substitutes "such" for "the." ⁹O omits entirely (2), (3), and (4) as they appear in F. ¹⁰R has "arrangements" for "arrangement." ¹¹R omits "Provided . . . consented." ¹²R omits "teachers or other." ¹³O numbers this section (2) instead of (5). ¹⁴O inserts "such." ¹⁵O omits "under this section." ¹⁶O substitutes "authority" for "council."

7. No variations in O and R.

8. ¹O omits "Subject . . . Act,". ²O and R insert "or to children of a particular sex." ³O substitutes "not" for "other than those." ⁴In place of section (3) as given in F, R substitutes: "The question whether a child, who is not attending a school recognized by the Board of Education as efficient, is under efficient instruction within the meaning of the Education Acts, or any by-laws relating to school attendance made thereunder, shall be determined by the local education authority, or, in the case of a child attending a school or educational institution which the Board of Education or the local education authority are enabled to inspect, if the parent of the child so de-

sires, by the Board of Education, and any such determination shall be final and conclusive." O also substitutes this text, omitting "who . . . efficient," and substituting "permitted" for "enabled." ⁵ In place of section (4) as given in F, O substitutes: "If the Board of Education are satisfied on the representation of a local education authority that such adequate and satisfactory provision of nursery schools has been made in their area, or any part of their area, as to render it unnecessary to provide instruction in public elementary schools for children under the age of six, the Board may by order direct that the age of six shall be substituted for the age of five as respects that area, or part of an area, as the age at which the obligation to attend school under the Education Acts or any by-laws made thereunder begins." ⁶ O and R omit entirely (5) as given in F. ⁷ O and R number this section (5) instead of (6). ⁸ O substitutes "other instruction" for "special . . . demonstration," and at that point begins a new section, numbered (6), substituting "Attendance at a class for the purpose of practical or other instruction" for "and attendance at such a class." ⁹ R omits "subject . . . 1870." ¹⁰ R numbers this section (6) instead of (7). ¹¹ O omits this section entirely, and R numbers it (7) instead of (8). ¹² R substitutes "these" for "those."

9. ¹ O omits "or is about to attend." ² O omits "or a school certified . . . 1914." ³ O omits "or such . . . aforesaid." ⁴ O gives at this point an extra section, numbered (3), which reads as follows: "For the purposes of this section, a school term shall be deemed to be the term as fixed by the local education authority with the approval of the Board of Education." R also gives this section, omitting "with the approval of the Board of Education."

10. ¹ O and R omit "distributed . . . locality." ² O and R omit "distributed as aforesaid." ³ For sections (a) and (b) as given in F, R substitutes: "Provided that at any time after the expiration of five years from the appointed day the Board of Education may, after such inquiry as they think fit, and after consulting the local education authority, by order increase in respect of any area or part of an area or any young persons or classes of young persons the number of hours of attendance at continuation schools required under this Act, and this section shall, as respects the area to which, or the young persons to whom, the order applies, have effect as if the number of hours specified in the order were substituted for three hundred and twenty; but no such order shall be made until a draft thereof has lain for not less than thirty days on the table of each House of Parliament." O also substitutes this text, omitting "and after consulting the local education authority." ⁴ O substitutes: "The obligation to attend continuation schools under this Act shall not apply to any young person—" in place of "Any young person—." ⁵ O omits "or." ⁶ O and R omit entirely section (ii) as given in F. ⁷ O and R number this section (ii) instead of (iii). ⁸ O omits "for . . . section." ⁹ O inserts: "in the case of a young person educated in a secondary school or other school recognized by the Board of Education as efficient, to the satisfaction of the Board of Education, and, in the case of a young person educated elsewhere,". ¹⁰ O substitutes: "under suitable and efficient full-time instruction up to the age of sixteen;" in place of "to the age . . . manner." ¹¹ O omits the rest of this section, "shall be exempt . . . what school he shall attend," and inserts two sections, (iii) and (iv), which correspond to (3), (i) and (ii) in F; the text is as follows: "(iii) who is shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority to be under suitable and efficient full-time instruction in some other manner; (iv) who is shown to the satisfaction of the local education authority to be under suitable and efficient part-time instruction in some other manner for a number of hours in the year (being hours during which, if not exempt, he might be required to attend a continuation school), equal to the number of hours during which a young person is required under this Act to attend a continuation

school." ¹² O and R omit entirely (4) as given in F. ¹³ O numbers this section (3), and R numbers it (4), instead of (5). ¹⁴ O omits "who is or has been." ¹⁵ O omits "or that . . . him." ¹⁶ O omits "or has been." ¹⁷ O substitutes "permitted" for "enabled." ¹⁸ O numbers this section (4), and R numbers it (5), instead of (6). ¹⁹ O numbers this section (5), and R numbers it (6), instead of (7). ²⁰ O omits "or on any day . . . belongs." ²¹ O and R substitute "those" for "these." ²² O and R omit (8) entirely. ²³ O and R omit (9) entirely.

¹¹. ¹ O omits "or, in the case . . . pound." ² O substitutes "any" for "a." ³ O and R insert: "by wilful default or by neglecting to exercise due care, has conduced to the commission of an offence under the immediately preceding subsection, or." ⁴ O and R substitute "caused" for "conducted to." ⁵ O and R omit "unless . . . 1908." ⁶ O substitutes "one pound" for "two pounds." ⁷ O substitutes "and" for "or." ⁸ O and R omit "young."

¹². ¹ O substitutes "shall" for "is to." ² O omits "the."

¹³. ¹ O numbers this section (1) instead of (i). ² O and R omit "on any Sunday . . . or." ³ O and R omit "Provided . . . afternoon." ⁴ O numbers this section (2) instead of (ii) and omits "which . . . trading." ⁵ O numbers this section (3) instead of (iii), and substitutes "Section twelve shall be repealed and the following section shall be substituted therefor" in place of "For . . . substituted." ⁶ O and R omit "Except . . . London." ⁷ O numbers this section (4) instead of (iv). ⁸ O and R omit "in the case . . . elsewhere." ⁹ O omits entirely (2) and its subsections as given in F. ¹⁰ R omits (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) as given in F. ¹¹ R numbers this (iv) instead of (ix).

¹⁴. ¹ O substitutes "at the commencement of this Act" for "on the appointed day."

¹⁵. ¹ O and R insert "at school." ² O omits "notwithstanding . . . enactment."

¹⁶. ¹ O and R substitute "young persons as well as children" for "children . . . Act."

¹⁷. ¹ O and R substitute "or" for "and."

¹⁸. ¹ O and R substitute "purpose" for "purposes." ² O and R have "powers and duties" instead of "duties and powers." ³ O inserts "and." ⁴ O and R substitute: "shall also have the powers exerciseable under that paragraph" for "may exercise the like powers."

¹⁹. ¹ In place of "arrangements," O substitutes "such arrangements as may be approved by the Board of Education," and R substitutes "such arrangements as are appropriate to the industrial and housing conditions of the area and may be approved by the Board of Education." ² O and R omit "(which expression shall include nursery classes)." ³ O inserts "home conditions are such that." ⁴ O omits (2) entirely.

²⁰. ¹ O and R omit entirely section 20 as given in F.

²¹. ¹ O and R number this section 20 instead of 21. ² O omits "and may for that purpose . . . proper." ³ O and R omit "Provided . . . parents."

²². ¹ O and R omit entirely section 22 as given in F.

²³. ¹ O and R number this section 21 instead of 23. ² O and R omit "any investigation . . . or." ³ O and R omit "and with . . . institutions."

²⁴. ¹ O and R omit entirely section 24 as given in F.

²⁵. ¹ O and R omit entirely section 25 as given in F.

²⁶. ¹ O and R number this section 22 instead of 26. ² O substitutes "not exceeding" for "of." ³ O substitutes "local education authority may" for

"Board . . . Parliament." ⁴ O substitutes "not provided by them in each year a sum not exceeding" for "maintained . . . day." ⁵ O omits (3) entirely.

27. ¹ O and R number this section 23 instead of 27.

28. ¹ O and R number this section 24 instead of 28. ² O omits "not in receipt . . . Education". ³ O inserts "each House of."

29. ¹ O and R number this section 25 instead of 29. ² O omits "public elementary." ³ O omits (2) entirely.

30. ¹ O and R number this section 26 instead of 30. ² O and R insert "at least." ³ O and R insert "so." ⁴ O inserts "for use by the authority." ⁵ O substitutes "these" for "those." ⁶ O and R omit "during such period" at this point and insert it after "provided by them."

31. ¹ O and R number this section 27 instead of 31. ² O substitutes "the" for "those." ³ O substitutes "may with the like approval group" in place of "for the grouping of." ⁴ O omits "Provided . . . approving these directions." ⁵ R substitutes "those" for "these."

32. ¹ O and R number this section 28 instead of 32. ² In place of "Notwithstanding" O gives "The Board of Education may direct that." ³ O inserts "shall not apply to." ⁴ O inserts "specially." ⁵ O omits "sole." ⁶ In place of "may be" O gives "if such school is." ⁷ O omits "and, in the case . . . school."

33. ¹ R numbers this section 29 instead of 33, and O gives at this point a section, numbered 29, which has been dropped entirely from F. The text is as follows: "(1) The Board of Education may, after such inquiry as they think fit, make an order providing that all or any of the powers and duties under Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, of the council of any non-county borough or urban district in the county shall be relinquished in favour of the council of the county, and, as from the date specified in the order, the powers and duties to which the order relates shall cease, and the area of the authority shall be deemed to be part of the area of the county council as respects those powers and duties. (2) An order made under this section by the Board of Education shall, unless the council of the county and the council of the borough or urban district concerned consent, be provisional only, and shall require confirmation by Parliament. (3) An order made under this section shall contain the necessary provisions for the adjustment of property, rights, and liabilities as between the borough or district and the county in which the borough or district is situated, and such incidental and consequential provisions as may appear necessary or expedient (including the modification of any scheme with reference to the system of education in force under this Act). (4) The Board of Education may submit to Parliament for confirmation any Order which requires confirmation by Parliament under this section. (5) If when a Bill confirming an Order under this section is pending in either House of Parliament, a petition is presented against any Order comprised therein, the Bill, so far as it relates to that Order, may be referred to a Select Committee, or, if the two Houses of Parliament think fit so to order, to a Joint Committee of both Houses, and the petitioner shall be allowed to appear and oppose as in the case of private Bills." ² R omits "or the provisions . . . 1902."

34. ¹ O and R number this section 30 instead of 34. ² O and R omit (b) and (c) entirely. ³ O and R omit "but without . . . day."

35. ¹ O and R number this section 31 instead of 35.

36. ¹ O and R number this section 32 instead of 36. ² O substitutes "have" for "has." ³ O and R omit (2) entirely.

37. ¹ O and R number this section 33 instead of 37.

38. ¹O and R number this section 34 instead of 38. ²O and R insert "and."

39. ¹O and R number this section 35 instead of 39. ²O and R insert "for an offence of cruelty to children." ³O and R omit "where . . . Act". ⁴O and R omit "to."

40. ¹O and R number this section 36 instead of 40. ²O substitutes "public inquiries" for "a public inquiry," and gives "under this section in any case where they consider that such an inquiry is desirable in respect of any question of administration or any question arising in connexion with education" in place of "for the purpose . . . Acts." ³O omits "(except as otherwise provided by the Education Acts)." ⁴O inserts "to any such public inquiry, and also." ⁵In place of "by the Board of Education," O substitutes "in pursuance of any provisions of the Education Acts." ⁶O substitutes "The inquiry shall be held by such person as the Board of Education appoint" for "The Board . . . inquiry." ⁷O omits entirely (b) as given in F. ⁸O numbers this section (b) instead of (c), and substitutes the following text for the text as given in F: "The Board of Education shall cause public notice to be given of the time and place at which inquiry is to be commenced, stating the subject-matter of the inquiry"; in the section numbered (c) in O, the following text appears: "The person holding the inquiry shall give any person who appears to him to be interested in the subject-matter of the inquiry an opportunity of attending the inquiry and making representations with respect to the subject-matter thereof;". ⁹In place of (d) and (e) as given in F, O substitutes the following text in a section numbered (d): "The person holding the inquiry shall make a report of the proceedings at the inquiry to the Board of Education, and the Board of Education shall, on payment of such fee as may be fixed by the Board, furnish a copy of the report to any person appearing to them to be interested, and may, if they think fit, publish the report." O then inserts another section, numbered (3), as follows: "The Board of Education may, if they think fit, appoint two or more persons to hold an inquiry, and the provisions of this section shall apply accordingly." ¹⁰At this point O begins another section, numbered 37, which contains sections corresponding to (f) and (g) as they appear in F; the text is as follows: "(1) Where an application is made for a public inquiry, and the Board of Education are of opinion that an inquiry is unnecessary, the Board may either refuse to hold the inquiry or require the applicant to give security for the costs of the inquiry, and if they think fit order the applicant to pay those costs. (2) The Board of Education may order the payment of the whole or any part of the costs of the inquiry by a local education authority, in any case where the inquiry appears to the Board to be incidental to the administration of that authority, and it appears reasonable to the Board that such an order should be made. (3) Any order so made for the payment of costs shall certify the amount to be paid by the local education authority or the applicant, as the case may be, and any amount so certified shall, without prejudice to the recovery thereof as a debt due to the Crown, be recoverable by the Board summarily as a civil debt from the authority or the applicant, as the case may be. (4) Nothing in this section shall affect any special provision of the Education Acts as to the payment of the costs of an inquiry." This is followed in O by a section, numbered 38, which has been dropped entirely from F. The text is as follows: "If any question arises whether any purpose for which any authority having powers under the Education Acts have exercised or wish to exercise those powers is within their powers under those Acts, that question shall be referred to and determined by the Board of Education, and their decision shall be conclusive on the matter." ¹¹R substitutes "if the inquiry appears to the Board to be incidental to the administration of that authority" for "to whose administration . . . incidental."

41. ¹O and R omit section 41 entirely.

42. ¹ O and R omit section 42 entirely.

43. ¹ O numbers this section 39, and R 37, instead of 43. ² O omits "or of the education committee . . . education."

44. ¹ O numbers this section 40, and R 38, instead of 44. ² Subsection (1) in O corresponds to (4) and (1) in F; the text is as follows: "(1) The fee grant under the Elementary Education Act, 1891, as amended by the Elementary Education (Fee Grant) Act, 1916, the aid grant under section ten of the Education Act, 1902, and the small population grant under section nineteen of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, as amended by the Education Code (1890) Act, 1890, and the Education (Small Population Grants) Act, 1915, shall cease on the appointed day, and the Board of Education may by minute provide for the payment to every local education authority under Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, out of moneys provided by Parliament of a consolidated grant of such amount and subject to such conditions and limitations as may be prescribed in the minute, and nothing in any Act of Parliament shall prevent the Board of Education from paying grants to a local education authority under Part III. of the Education Act, 1902, in respect of any expenditure which the authority may lawfully incur." O then gives another section, numbered (2), which has been dropped from F; the text is as follows: "The Board of Education may provide by minute for the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of grants to the managers of any public elementary school which under section fifteen of the Education Act, 1902, may receive a parliamentary grant, but is not maintained by the local education authority." ³ O omits (2) and (3) as they appear in F. ⁴ R substitutes "so paid to an authority in respect of" for "payable out of those moneys to an authority in." ⁵ R omits "by the Board of Education." ⁶ R omits "and paid,". ⁷ R substitutes "these" for "those." ⁸ O omits entirely (5) as it appears in F. ⁹ O numbers this (3) instead of (6), and, in place of the text as given in F, substitutes the following: "The provisions of section ninety-seven of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, with respect to the laying of minutes before Parliament shall apply to minutes made for the purposes of this section as they apply to minutes made for the purposes of that section."

45. ¹ O numbers this section 41, and R 39, instead of 45.

46. ¹ O numbers this section 42, and R 40, instead of 46.

47. ¹ O numbers this section 43, and R 41, instead of 47.

48. ¹ O numbers this section 44, and R 42, instead of 48. ² O and R omit "The expression 'parent' . . . person;". ³ O and R omit "the expression 'school term' . . . authority;". ⁴ O and R omit "The expression 'sea service' . . . service;".

49. ¹ O and R omit entirely section 49 as it appears in F.

50. ¹ O numbers this section 45, and R 43, instead of 50.

51. ¹ O numbers this section 46, and R 44, instead of 51.

52. ¹ O numbers this section 47, and R 45, instead of 52. ² O substitutes "1917" for "1918." ³ O substitutes "1917" for "1918." ⁴ O and R omit "Provided . . . children."

